

# FRAGILE STATES INDEX 2015

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Report Edited by
**J. J. Messner**

Assessment Directed by
**Nate Haken**

Report Written by
**J. J. Messner, Nate Haken, Patricia Taft, Hannah Blyth, Kendall Lawrence, Sebastian Pavlou Graham, Felipe Umaña**

Assessment Supported by
**Alex Young, Ania Skinner, Katie Cornelius**

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The Fund for Peace
1101 14th Street NW, Suite 1020
Washington, D.C. 20005

T: +1 202 223 7940
F: +1 202 223 7947
www.fundforpeace.org

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www.foreignpolicy.com

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# Fragile States Index 2015: Overview



## The Index in Figures



## Analysis of the 2015 Index



## About



The Fragile States Index is an annual ranking of 178 nations based on their levels of stability and the pressures they face. The Index is based on The Fund for Peace's proprietary Conflict Assessment Software Tool (CAST) analytical platform. Based on comprehensive social science methodology, data from three primary sources is triangulated and subjected to critical review to obtain final scores for the Fragile States Index. Millions of documents are analyzed every year, and by applying highly specialized search parameters, scores are apportioned for every country based on twelve key political, social and economic indicators and over 100 sub-indicators that are the result of years of painstaking expert social science research.

The 2015 Fragile States Index, the 11th edition of the annual Index, comprises data collected between January 1, 2014 and December 31, 2014 — thus, certain well-publicized events that have occurred since January 1, 2015 are not covered by the 2015 Index.

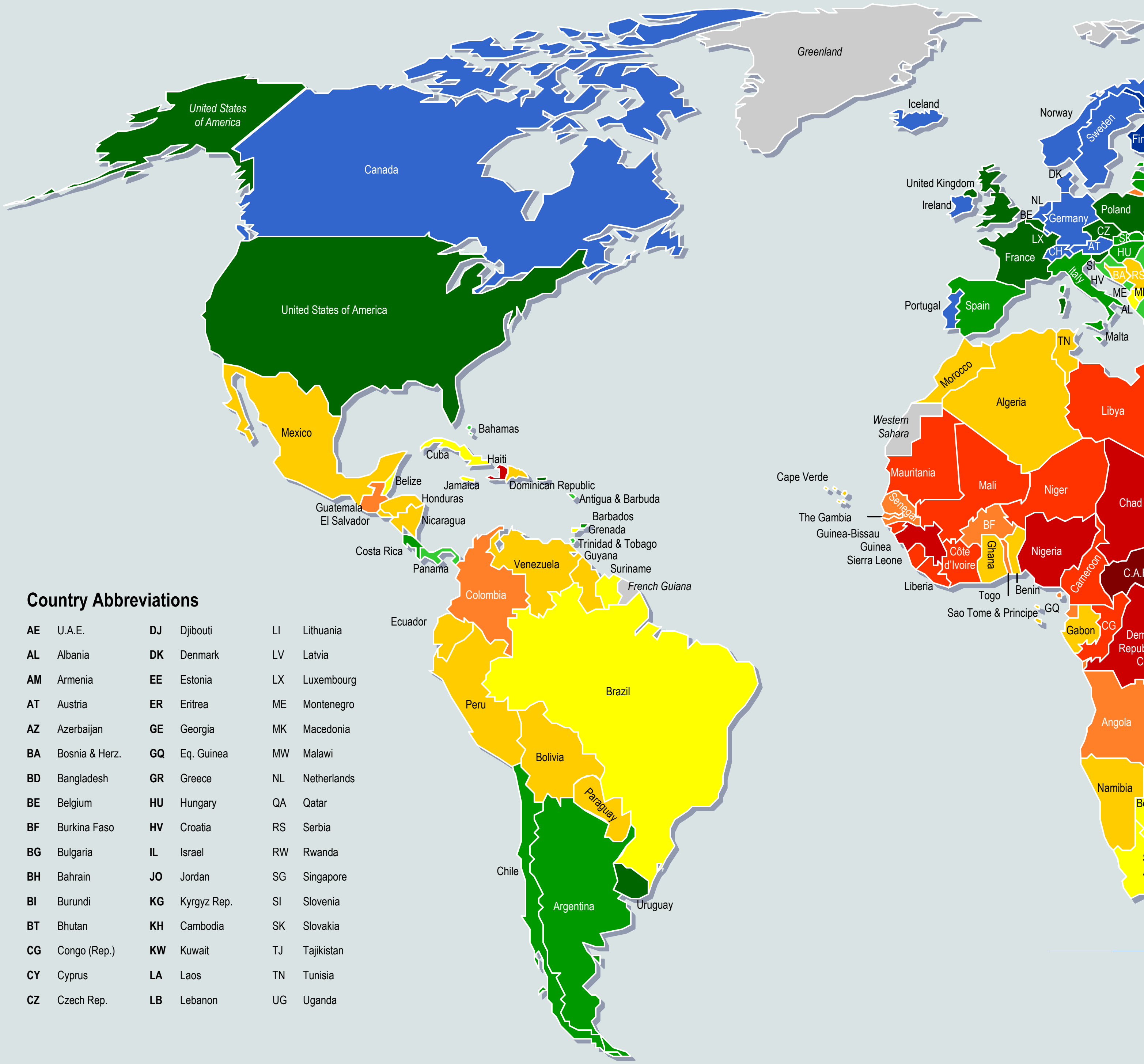
## Index of Country Analysis



## Interpreting the Fragile States Index Findings

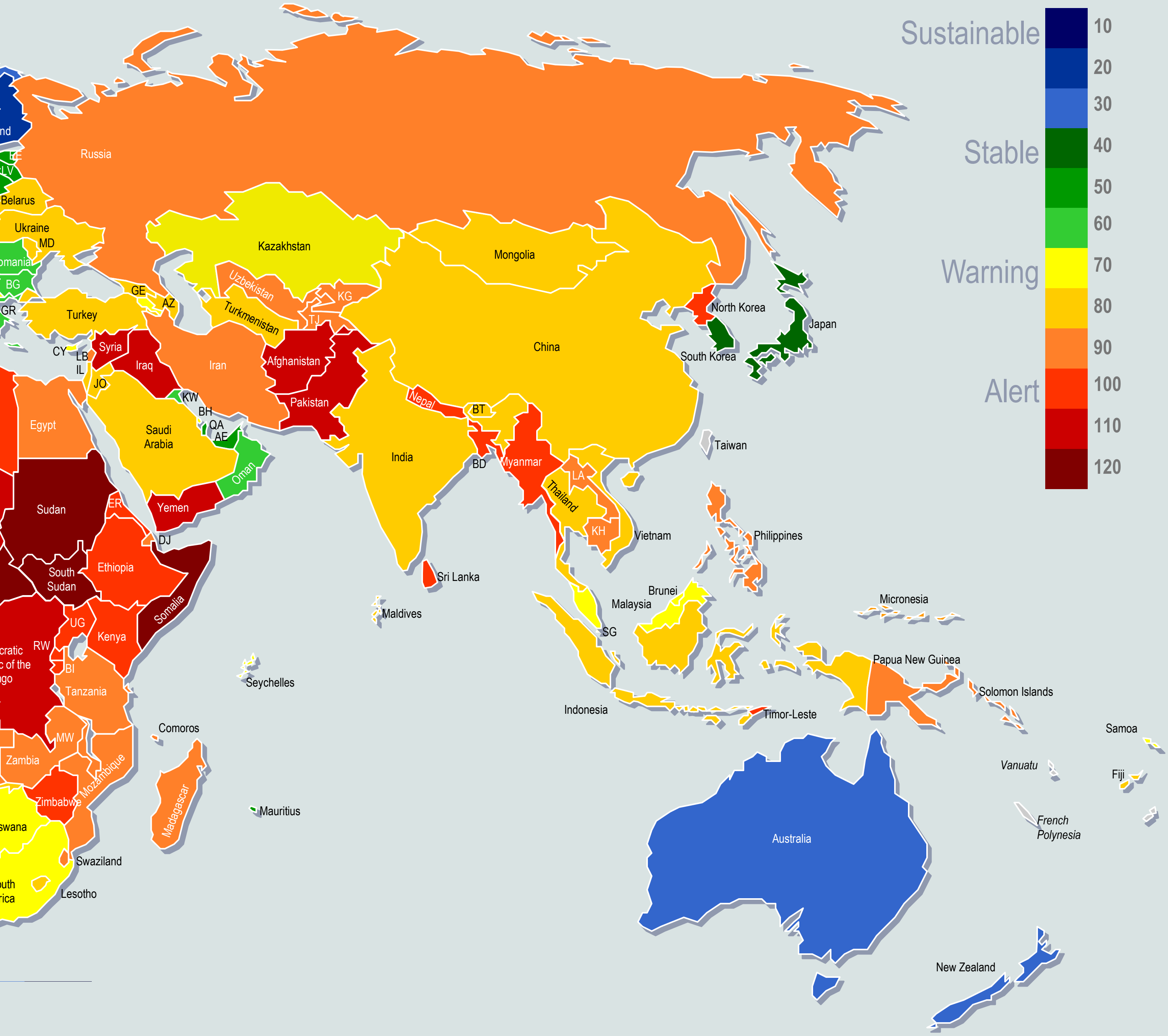
The Fragile States Index scores should be interpreted with the understanding that the lower the score, the better. Therefore, a reduced score indicates an improvement, just as a higher score indicates greater instability. For an explanation of the various indicators and their icons, please refer to page **17**. Also, in a departure from previous years, readers will notice a significant de-emphasis on rankings, as it is our firm belief that a country's score (and indeed, its indicator scores) are a far more important and accurate indicator of a country's performance, and that as much as countries should be compared against other countries, it is more useful to compare a country against itself, over time. Hence, our rankings are now printed in reverse order, and our analysis now focuses more on broad categories rather than specific rankings. We have also changed our "Heat Map", whereby "cooler" colors are now applied to more less at -risk categories. We trust this will provide a less alarming view of the globe.

# Fragile States Index: Fragility in the World 2015




## Country Abbreviations

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **AE** | U.A.E. | **DJ** | Djibouti | LI | Lithuania |
| **AL** | Albania | **DK** | Denmark | LV | Latvia |
| **AM** | Armenia | **EE** | Estonia | LX | Luxembourg |
| **AT** | Austria | **ER** | Eritrea | ME | Montenegro |
| **AZ** | Azerbaijan | **GE** | Georgia | MK | Macedonia |
| **BA** | Bosnia & Herz. | **GQ** | Eq. Guinea | MW | Malawi |
| **BD** | Bangladesh | **GR** | Greece | NL | Netherlands |
| **BE** | Belgium | **HU** | Hungary | QA | Qatar |
| **BF** | Burkina Faso | **HV** | Croatia | RS | Serbia |
| **BG** | Bulgaria | **IL** | Israel | RW | Rwanda |
| **BH** | Bahrain | **JO** | Jordan | SG | Singapore |
| **BI** | Burundi | **KG** | Kyrgyz Rep. | SI | Slovenia |
| **BT** | Bhutan | **KH** | Cambodia | SK | Slovakia |
| **CG** | Congo (Rep.) | **KW** | Kuwait | TJ | Tajikistan |
| **CY** | Cyprus | **LA** | Laos | TN | Tunisia |
| **CZ** | Czech Rep. | **LB** | Lebanon | UG | Uganda |


Sustainable
Stable
Warning
Alert
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
110
120
Russia
Belarus
Ukraine
MD
BG
GR
Turkey
GE
AZ
CY
LB
IL
JO
Syria
Iraq
Iran
Kazakhstan
Uzbekistan
Turkmenistan
KG
TJ
Afghanistan
Pakistan
Mongolia
China
North Korea
South Korea
Japan
Taiwan
Nepal
BT
BD
India
Sri Lanka
Maldives
Myanmar
LA
Thailand
KH
Vietnam
Philippines
Brunei
Malaysia
SG
Indonesia
Timor-Leste
Micronesia
Papua New Guinea
Solomon Islands
Samoa
Vanuatu
Fiji
French Polynesia
Australia
New Zealand
Egypt
Saudi Arabia
KW
BH
QA
AE
Oman
Yemen
Sudan
ER
DJ
South Sudan
Ethiopia
Somalia
UG
Kenya
RW
BI
Tanzania
MW
Zambia
Zimbabwe
Mozambique
Madagascar
Comoros
Seychelles
Mauritius
Swaziland
Lesotho

# Fragile States Index: Assessing State Fragility in 2015

## Very Sustainable

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 17.8 | Finland (178) |

## Sustainable

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 20.2 | Sweden (177) |
| 20.8 | Norway (176) |
| 21.5 | Denmark (175) |
| 22.2 | Luxembourg (174) |
| 22.3 | Switzerland (173) |
| 22.6 | New Zealand (172) |
| 23.4 | Iceland (171) |
| 24.3 | Australia (170) |
| 24.7 | Ireland (169) |
| 25.7 | Canada (168) |
| 26.0 | Austria (167) |
| 26.8 | Netherlands (166) |
| 28.1 | Germany (165) |
| 29.7 | Portugal (164) |

## Highly Stable

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 30.4 | Belgium (163) |
| 31.6 | Slovenia (162) |
| 33.4 | United Kingdom (161) |
| 33.7 | France (160) |
| 34.4 | Singapore (159) |
| 35.3 | United States (158) |
| 36.0 | Japan (157) |
| 36.3 | South Korea (156) |
| 36.5 | Uruguay (155) |
| 37.4 | Czech Republic (154) |
| 39.8 | Poland (153) |

## Very Stable

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 40.9 | Malta (=151) |
| 40.9 | Spain (=151) |
| 41.5 | Chile (150) |
| 42.6 | Slovak Republic (149) |
| 43.0 | Lithuania (148) |
| 43.2 | Italy (147) |
| 43.8 | Estonia (146) |
| 45.2 | Mauritius (145) |
| 46.2 | United Arab Emirates (144) |
| 46.3 | Qatar (143) |
| 46.7 | Costa Rica (142) |
| 47.6 | Argentina (141) |
| 48.6 | Latvia (140) |
| 49.1 | Hungary (139) |
| 49.3 | Barbados (138) |

## Stable

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 51.0 | Croatia (137) |
| 51.6 | Bahamas (136) |
| 52.0 | Oman (135) |
| 52.6 | Greece (134) |
| 54.2 | Romania (=132) |
| 54.2 | Montenegro (=132) |
| 54.6 | Panama (131) |
| 55.4 | Bulgaria (130) |
| 57.0 | Mongolia (129) |
| 57.5 | Kuwait (128) |
| 57.8 | Antigua & Barbuda (127) |
| 58.7 | Trinidad & Tobago (126) |

## Low Warning

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 61.9 | Albania (125) |
| 62.1 | Seychelles (124) |
| 62.6 | Brazil (123) |
| 62.8 | Botswana (122) |
| 63.0 | Brunei Darussalam (121) |
| 63.4 | Grenada (120) |
| 64.3 | Bahrain (119) |
| 64.5 | Macedonia (118) |
| 64.6 | Jamaica (117) |
| 65.3 | Belize (116) |
| 65.9 | Malaysia (115) |
| 66.2 | Cyprus (114) |
| 67.0 | South Africa (113) |
| 67.4 | Cuba (112) |
| 68.2 | Samoa (111) |
| 68.3 | Kazakhstan (110) |
| 68.4 | Suriname (109) |
| 69.7 | Armenia (108) |

## Warning

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 70.5 | Guyana (107) |
| 70.8 | Namibia (106) |
| 71.2 | Dominican Republic (105) |
| 71.3 | Gabon (=103) |
| 71.3 | Paraguay (=103) |
| 71.4 | El Salvador (102) |
| 71.6 | Saudi Arabia (101) |
| 71.8 | Mexico (100) |
| 71.9 | Ghana (=98) |
| 71.9 | Peru (=98) |
| 72.4 | Vietnam (97) |
| 73.0 | Moldova (96) |
| 73.5 | Cape Verde (95) |
| 73.6 | Micronesia (94) |
| 73.7 | Sao Tome & Principe (93) |
| 73.8 | Serbia (92) |
| 74.2 | Maldives (91) |
| 74.5 | Turkey (90) |
| 74.6 | Morocco (89) |



## Warning

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 75.0 | Indonesia (88) |
| 75.6 | Belarus (87) |
| 75.8 | Tunisia (86) |
| 75.9 | Ecuador (85) |
| 76.3 | Ukraine (84) |
| 76.4 | China (83) |
| 76.8 | Fiji (82) |
| 76.9 | Jordan (81) |
| 77.3 | Azerbaijan (80) |
| 77.4 | Bosnia & Herzegovina (79) |
| 77.5 | Turkmenistan (78) |
| 78.0 | Bolivia (77) |
| 78.2 | Honduras (76) |
| 78.6 | Venezuela (75) |
| 78.7 | Bhutan (74) |
| 78.8 | Benin (73) |
| 79.0 | Nicaragua (72) |
| 79.1 | Thailand (71) |
| 79.3 | Georgia (70) |
| 79.4 | India (=68) |
| 79.4 | Israel & the West Bank (=68) |
| 79.6 | Algeria (67) |
| 79.9 | Lesotho (66) |

## High Warning

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 80.0 | Russia (65) |
| 80.4 | Guatemala (64) |
| 80.8 | Tanzania (63) |
| 82.2 | Kyrgyz Republic (62) |
| 82.5 | Colombia (61) |
| 83.0 | Senegal (60) |
| 83.3 | Comoros (59) |
| 83.4 | Papua New Guinea (=57) |
| 83.4 | Tajikistan (=57) |
| 83.6 | Madagascar (56) |
| 84.5 | Laos (55) |
| 84.8 | Equatorial Guinea (54) |
| 85.2 | Zambia (53) |
| 85.4 | Gambia (=51) |
| 85.4 | Uzbekistan (=51) |
| 85.9 | Solomon Islands (50) |
| 86.3 | Philippines (=48) |
| 86.3 | Swaziland (=48) |
| 86.8 | Togo (47) |
| 86.9 | Malawi (=45) |
| 86.9 | Mozambique (=45) |
| 87.2 | Iran (44) |
| 87.9 | Cambodia (43) |
| 88.1 | Angola (=40) |
| 88.1 | Djibouti (=40) |
| 88.1 | Lebanon (=40) |
| 89.2 | Burkina Faso (39) |

## Alert

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 90.0 | Egypt (38) |
| 90.2 | Rwanda (37) |
| 90.5 | Nepal (36) |
| 90.6 | Sri Lanka (=34) |
| 90.6 | Timor-Leste (=34) |
| 90.8 | Congo (Republic) (33) |
| 91.8 | Bangladesh (32) |
| 91.9 | Sierra Leone (31) |
| 93.1 | Mali (30) |
| 93.8 | North Korea (29) |
| 94.3 | Cameroon (28) |
| 94.7 | Myanmar (Burma) (27) |
| 94.9 | Mauritania (26) |
| 95.3 | Libya (25) |
| 96.9 | Eritrea (24) |
| 97.0 | Uganda (23) |
| 97.3 | Liberia (22) |
| 97.4 | Kenya (21) |
| 97.5 | Ethiopia (20) |
| 97.8 | Niger (19) |
| 98.1 | Burundi (18) |
| 99.9 | Guinea Bissau (17) |

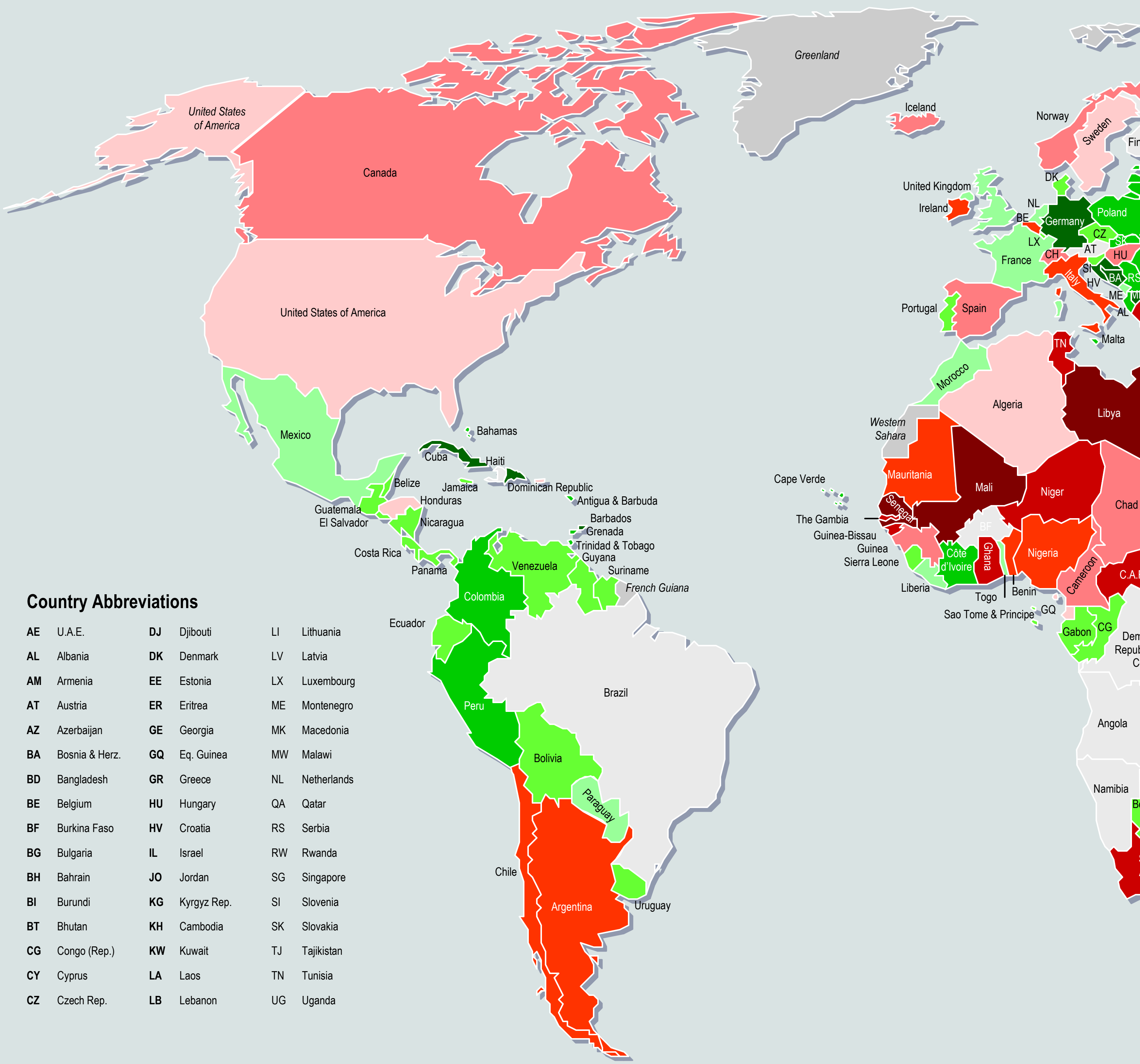
## High Alert

| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 100.0 | Cote d'Ivoire (=15) |
| 100.0 | Zimbabwe (=15) |
| 102.4 | Nigeria (14) |
| 102.9 | Pakistan (13) |
| 104.5 | Haiti (=11) |
| 104.5 | Iraq (=11) |
| 104.9 | Guinea (10) |
| 107.9 | Afghanistan (=8) |
| 107.9 | Syria (=8) |
| 108.1 | Yemen (7) |
| 108.4 | Chad (6) |
| 109.7 | Congo (Dem. Rep.) (5) |

## Very High Alert

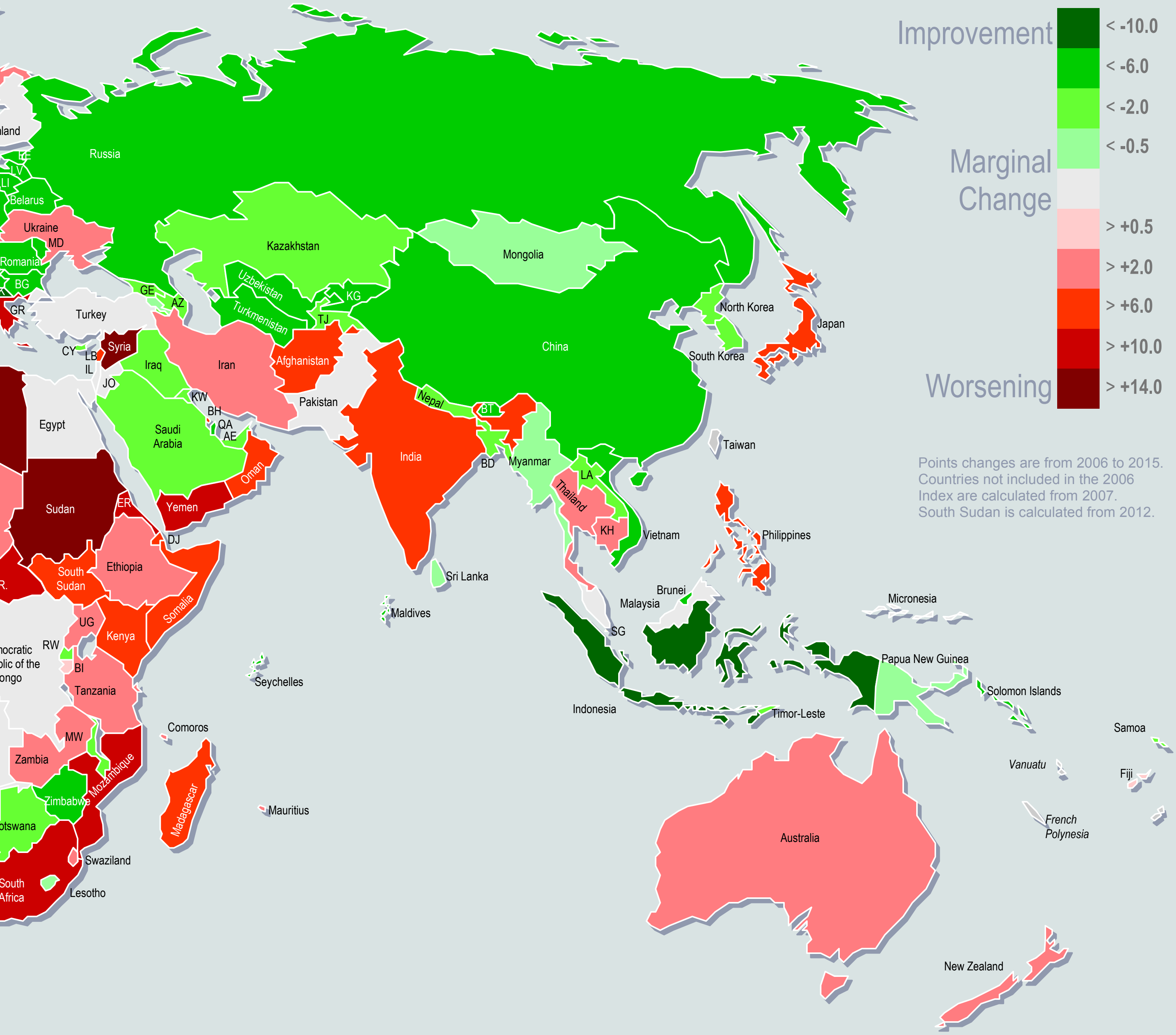
| Score | Country (Rank) |
|---|---|
| 110.8 | Sudan (4) |
| 111.9 | Central African Rep. (3) |
| 114.0 | Somalia (2) |
| 114.5 | South Sudan (1) |

# Fragile States Index: Decade Trends, 2006-2015




## Country Abbreviations

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **AE** | U.A.E. | **DJ** | Djibouti | LI | Lithuania |
| **AL** | Albania | **DK** | Denmark | LV | Latvia |
| **AM** | Armenia | **EE** | Estonia | LX | Luxembourg |
| **AT** | Austria | **ER** | Eritrea | ME | Montenegro |
| **AZ** | Azerbaijan | **GE** | Georgia | MK | Macedonia |
| **BA** | Bosnia & Herz. | **GQ** | Eq. Guinea | MW | Malawi |
| **BD** | Bangladesh | **GR** | Greece | NL | Netherlands |
| **BE** | Belgium | **HU** | Hungary | QA | Qatar |
| **BF** | Burkina Faso | **HV** | Croatia | RS | Serbia |
| **BG** | Bulgaria | **IL** | Israel | RW | Rwanda |
| **BH** | Bahrain | **JO** | Jordan | SG | Singapore |
| **BI** | Burundi | **KG** | Kyrgyz Rep. | SI | Slovenia |
| **BT** | Bhutan | **KH** | Cambodia | SK | Slovakia |
| **CG** | Congo (Rep.) | **KW** | Kuwait | TJ | Tajikistan |
| **CY** | Cyprus | **LA** | Laos | TN | Tunisia |
| **CZ** | Czech Rep. | **LB** | Lebanon | UG | Uganda |



Improvement
Marginal Change
Worsening
< -10.0
< -6.0
< -2.0
< -0.5
> +0.5
> +2.0
> +6.0
> +10.0
> +14.0
Points changes are from 2006 to 2015.
Countries not included in the 2006
Index are calculated from 2007.
South Sudan is calculated from 2012.
Russia
EE
LV
LI
Belarus
Ukraine
MD
Romania
BG
GR
Turkey
CY
LB
IL
JO
Syria
GE
AZ
Kazakhstan
Uzbekistan
Turkmenistan
KG
TJ
Mongolia
China
North Korea
South Korea
Japan
Iraq
Iran
Afghanistan
Pakistan
KW
BH
QA
AE
Saudi Arabia
Oman
Yemen
Egypt
Sudan
ER
DJ
Ethiopia
South Sudan
Somalia
UG
Kenya
RW
BI
Tanzania
MW
Zambia
Mozambique
Zimbabwe
Swaziland
South Africa
Lesotho
Madagascar
Comoros
Mauritius
Seychelles
Maldives
India
Nepal
BT
BD
Sri Lanka
Myanmar
LA
Thailand
KH
Vietnam
Taiwan
Philippines
Brunei
Malaysia
SG
Indonesia
Timor-Leste
Micronesia
Papua New Guinea
Solomon Islands
Samoa
Vanuatu
Fiji
French Polynesia
Australia
New Zealand

# Fragile States Index: Decade Trends, 2006-2015

## Significant Improvement

| | |
|---|---|
| –14.5 | Cuba (1) |
| –14.2 | Indonesia (2) |
| –13.8 | Dominican Rep. (3) |
| –11.6 | Germany (4) |
| –11.1 | Bosnia & Herz. (5) |
| –10.9 | Croatia (6) |
| –10.6 | Macedonia (7) |
| –10.6 | Barbados* |

## Strong Improvement

| | |
|---|---|
| –9.5 | Moldova (8) |
| –9.3 | Colombia (9) |
| –9.2 | Bhutan (=10) |
| –9.2 | Cote d'Ivoire (=10) |
| –9.2 | Seychelles* |
| –9.0 | Uzbekistan (12) |
| –8.9 | Belarus (=13) |
| –8.9 | Zimbabwe (=13) |
| –8.9 | Trinidad & Tobago* |
| –8.6 | Turkmenistan (15) |
| –8.5 | Bahamas* |
| –8.4 | Romania (16) |
| –8.2 | Brunei Darussalam* |
| –8.2 | Grenada* |
| –8.1 | Poland (=17) |
| –8.1 | Kyrgyz Rep. (=17) |
| –7.9 | Antigua & Barbuda* |
| –7.6 | Latvia (19) |
| –7.6 | Cape Verde* |
| –7.6 | Malta* |
| –7.3 | Peru (=20) |
| –7.3 | Slovak Rep. (=20) |
| –7.3 | Qatar* |
| –7.3 | Serbia** |
| –7.2 | Estonia (22) |
| –7.1 | Russia (23) |
| –6.9 | Maldives* |
| –6.7 | Albania (=24) |
| –6.7 | Bulgaria (=24) |
| –6.7 | Lithuania (=24) |
| –6.2 | Vietnam (27) |
| –6.1 | China (28) |
| –6.1 | Solomon Islands* |

## Some Improvement

| | |
|---|---|
| –5.9 | Luxembourg* |
| –5.6 | Saudi Arabia (29) |
| –5.6 | Samoa* |
| –5.5 | Suriname* |
| –5.4 | U.A.E.* |
| –5.3 | Ecuador (30) |
| –5.2 | Slovenia (31) |
| –5.0 | Panama (32) |
| –4.9 | Bolivia (=33) |
| –4.9 | Nepal (=33) |
| –4.9 | Sao Tome* |
| –4.7 | Uruguay (=35) |
| –4.7 | Sierra Leone (=35) |
| –4.7 | El Salvador (=35) |
| –4.6 | Azerbaijan (38) |
| –4.5 | Bangladesh (=39) |
| –4.5 | Iraq (=39) |
| –4.5 | Belize* |
| –4.4 | Czech Republic (41) |
| –4.3 | Cyprus (=42) |
| –4.3 | Tajikistan (=42) |
| –4.3 | Timor-Leste* |
| –4.1 | Botswana (44) |
| –3.9 | Guatemala (45) |
| –3.6 | Kazakhstan (=46) |
| –3.6 | North Korea (=46) |
| –3.5 | South Korea (48) |
| –3.4 | Laos (=49) |
| –3.4 | Nicaragua (=49) |
| –3.3 | Denmark (=51) |
| –3.3 | Kuwait (=51) |
| –3.0 | Portugal (53) |
| –2.9 | Costa Rica (=54) |
| –2.9 | Georgia (=54) |
| –2.9 | Malawi (=54) |
| –2.8 | Guyana* |
| –2.7 | Rwanda (57) |
| –2.6 | Venezuela (58) |
| –2.3 | Gabon (59) |
| –2.2 | Jamaica (60) |
| –2.2 | Congo (Rep.)* |

Points changes are from 2006 to 2015.

* Country score changes calculated from a base year of 2007 due to their not being included in the 2006 Failed States Index.

** Country score changes calculated from a base year of 2007 due to their not being independent countries for the 2006 Failed States Index.

*** Country score changes calculated from a base year of 2012 due to their not being independent countries for the 2006 Failed States Index.



## Marginal Improvement

| Change | Country (rank) |
|---|---|
| –1.9 | Morocco (61) |
| –1.8 | Armenia (=62) |
| –1.8 | Myanmar (=62) |
| –1.8 | Sri Lanka (=62) |
| –1.7 | Liberia (65) |
| –1.5 | Sudan (=66) |
| –1.5 | Togo (=66) |
| –1.4 | Mongolia (68) |
| –1.4 | Montenegro** |
| –1.3 | Mexico (=69) |
| –1.3 | Netherlands (=69) |
| –1.3 | Lesotho* |
| –1.2 | P.N.G. (71) |
| –0.8 | United Kingdom (72) |
| –0.7 | Paraguay (73) |
| –0.6 | France (74) |

## Insignificant Change

| Change | Country (rank) |
|---|---|
| –0.5 | Brazil (=75) |
| –0.5 | Burkina Faso (=75) |
| –0.4 | Congo (D.R.) (=77) |
| –0.4 | Finland (=77) |
| –0.2 | Angola (=79) |
| –0.2 | Malaysia (=79) |
| –0.2 | Pakistan (=79) |
| –0.1 | Austria (=82) |
| –0.1 | Haiti (=82) |
| –0.1 | Jordan (=82) |
| 0.0 | Israel & W.B. (85) |
| +0.1 | Namibia (=86) |
| +0.1 | Turkey (=86) |
| +0.1 | Micronesia* |
| +0.5 | Egypt (88) |

## Marginal Worsening

| Change | Country (rank) |
|---|---|
| +0.8 | Eq. Guinea (=89) |
| +0.8 | U.S.A. (=89) |
| +1.1 | Fiji* |
| +1.4 | Burundi (91) |
| +1.5 | Honduras (92) |
| +1.8 | Algeria (93) |
| +2.0 | Sweden (94) |

## Some Worsening

| Change | Country (rank) |
|---|---|
| +2.3 | Australia (95) |
| +2.3 | Iceland* |
| +2.4 | Hungary (96) |
| +2.5 | Chad (=97) |
| +2.5 | Uganda (=97) |
| +2.5 | Tanzania (=97) |
| +2.6 | Canada (100) |
| +2.9 | Cambodia (101) |
| +3.2 | Iran (=102) |
| +3.2 | New Zealand (=102) |
| +3.3 | Mauritius (104) |
| +3.4 | Ukraine (105) |
| +3.5 | Spain (106) |
| +3.6 | Switzerland (=107) |
| +3.6 | Singapore (=107) |
| +4.0 | Norway (109) |
| +4.2 | Thailand (110) |
| +5.0 | Swaziland* |
| +5.5 | Comoros* |
| +5.6 | Ethiopia (=111) |
| +5.6 | Zambia (=111) |
| +5.9 | Cameroon (=113) |
| +5.9 | Guinea (=113) |

## Worsening

| Change | Country (rank) |
|---|---|
| +6.1 | Ireland (115) |
| +6.1 | South Sudan*** |
| +6.4 | Belgium (116) |
| +6.8 | Argentina (117) |
| +7.1 | Mauritania (=118) |
| +7.1 | Philippines (=118) |
| +7.1 | Madagascar* |
| +7.3 | Bahrain* |
| +7.6 | Lebanon (120) |
| +7.8 | Djibouti* |
| +7.9 | Benin (121) |
| +8.0 | Japan (=122) |
| +8.0 | Nigeria (=122) |
| +8.1 | Afghanistan (=124) |
| +8.1 | Somalia (=124) |
| +8.1 | Italy (=124) |
| +8.2 | Oman (127) |
| +8.8 | Kenya (128) |
| +9.0 | India (129) |
| +9.5 | Chile (130) |

## Significant Worsening

| Change | Country (rank) |
|---|---|
| +10.4 | Tunisia (131) |
| +10.8 | Niger (132) |
| +11.3 | South Africa (133) |
| +11.4 | Gambia (=134) |
| +11.4 | Ghana (=134) |
| +11.5 | Greece (=136) |
| +11.5 | Yemen (=136) |
| +12.1 | Mozambique (138) |
| +13.0 | Eritrea (139) |
| +14.4 | C.A.R. (140) |
| +14.5 | Guinea Bissau (141) |

## Critical Worsening

| Change | Country (rank) |
|---|---|
| +16.9 | Senegal (142) |
| +18.5 | Mali (143) |
| +19.3 | Syria (144) |
| +26.8 | Libya (145) |

# Springtime for Castro and Cuba; Winter for Ukraine and Libya

## Most Improved, 2014 to 2015

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| −3.4 | Cuba (112) | 67.4 | ↓ |
| −3.4 | Georgia (70) | 79.3 | ↓ |
| −3.4 | Portugal (164) | 29.7 | ↓ |
| −2.8 | Zimbabwe (16) | 100.0 | ↓ |
| −2.7 | Romania (132) | 54.2 | ↓ |
| −2.7 | Slovak Republic (149) | 42.6 | ↓ |
| −2.6 | China (83) | 76.4 | ↓ |
| −2.6 | Qatar (143) | 46.3 | ↓ |
| −2.6 | Trinidad & Tobago (126) | 58.7 | ↓ |
| −2.5 | Austria (167) | 26.0 | ↓ |
| −2.5 | Bahamas (136) | 51.6 | ↓ |
| −2.5 | Germany (165) | 28.1 | ↓ |
| −2.5 | Iceland (171) | 23.4 | ↓ |

## Most Worsened, 2014 to 2015

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| +9.1 | Ukraine (84) | 76.3 | ↑ |
| +7.5 | Libya (25) | 95.3 | ↑ |
| +6.3 | Syria (9) | 107.9 | ↑ |
| +3.5 | Russia (65) | 80.0 | ↑ |
| +3.3 | Mali (30) | 93.1 | ↑ |
| +3.0 | Liberia (21) | 97.3 | ↑ |
| +2.7 | Nigeria (14) | 102.4 | ↑ |
| +2.7 | Yemen (7) | 108.1 | ↑ |
| +2.5 | India (69) | 79.4 | ↑ |
| +2.3 | Gambia (51) | 85.4 | ↑ |
| +2.3 | Iraq (12) | 104.5 | ↑ |

Points change between 2015 and 2014 scores. Red arrows signify worsening year-on-year; green arrows signify improvement.

J.J. Messner and Hannah Blyth

South Sudan has topped the Fragile States Index for the second year in succession, as the country continues to be wracked by internal conflict, fractious politics, and poverty. South Sudan is joined at the most fragile end of the Index by countries that have long struggled, such as Somalia, Central African Republic, Sudan, and D.R. Congo. However, a lack of change at the most fragile end of the Index (not to mention a similar lack of change at the sustainable end of the Index) belies the significant movement of a number of countries over the past year and indeed the past decade.

### Where the World is Getting Better

Much of the movement in the 2015 Index has been largely in sync with the headlines of the past year. As Cuba continues to dominate headlines in the United States — for all the right reasons — it has managed to be one of the three most improved countries of 2015, and also the most improved country of the past decade. Cuba is joined by Portugal and Georgia as the most improved countries, all having improved their scores by 3.4 points in the space of a year. Notably, Cuba was among the most improved countries in 2014, and Georgia was the most improved country previously in 2011, suggesting both countries are enjoying a rapid long-term trend of improvement.

Even more informative than the year-on-year trends are the trends identifiable over a decade. Not only was Cuba tied for the most improved country year-on-year in 2015, it is also the most improved country over the past decade. Though the country continues to experience problems in the provision of public services and issues such as Human Rights and State Legitimacy, it has nevertheless made great strides economically, driven by the reform agenda of Raul Castro. It is reasonable to assume that, with the thawing of the relationship between the United States and Cuba, this trend will continue to be positive over the coming years.

Improving by 3.4 points in this year's Index, 2014 saw Georgia make strides in economic growth, trade, and government transparency. Signing an association agreement with the European Union in June along with Moldova and Ukraine, Georgia's trade and political deals were aimed at reducing trade barriers and propelling democratic reforms. The agreement provided important stimulus for the Georgian economy, which has also benefitted from the Georgian government's investment in energy security which began after relations soured with Russia following the 2008 war. Georgia's Demographic Pressures improved in 2014, bouncing back from flooding which affected an estimated 25,000 people in 2013. Georgia's State Legitimacy indicator was a notable exception to the country's overall improvements, prompted by political turmoil within the governing Georgian Dream coalition in November, as well as the Russia's signature of a strategic partnership agreement with the breakaway region of Abkhazia.

The past year saw Portugal rise from the

ashes of the European debt crisis, making a clean exit from the 78 billion euro international bailout program. While heralded as economically risky by some for exiting without a credit line safety net, strides were nonetheless made in 2014 with the country experiencing its first full-year of growth since 2010 and reducing its unemployment rate. The continuation of austerity measures which led to widespread protests in 2012 and 2013 in Portugal, echoing those of its regional neighbors, has left deep socio-economic divides within the country. As the government attempts to walk the fragile economic line post -bailout, it will have its work cut out for it to address the underlying social issues which threaten to boil over in the worsened Group Grievance indicator.

Without any major positive leaps towards greater democratic freedom, human rights reform or significant surges in economic growth, the question begs why Zimbabwe stands to have improved its score so much in 2014. The indicators for Group Grievance, State Legitimacy and Uneven Economic Development all remained poor in 2014, and President Robert Mugabe firmly retained power for his thirty fourth consecutive year after contentious re-election in 2013. One of the important traits of the Index is its ability to measure longitudinal trends as well as picking up the more dramatic year-on-year changes. Zimbabwe has remained relatively stable over the past decade, with marginal improvements in indicators such as Human Flight and Public Services. This has largely been driven by economic growth, with GDP, GNI per capita, and foreign direct investment all improving in the five year trend mark. This is by no means a free pass for the worsening decade trends in Factionalized Elites and State Legitimacy, with many international sanctions led by the United States still firmly in place. However it must be observed that Zimbabwe in 2014 is in a much more stable position, slowly moving past the food, land and hyperinflation crises that rocked the country in the early 2000s.

## … and Where it's Not

At the other end of the spectrum however, countries that have been beset by new or renewed conflict have seen their standing in the Index tumble. Ukraine — which was the subject of an invasion by neighboring Russia, lost control of Crimea and much of the far east of the country, and is currently fighting Russian-backed rebels on its territory — is the most worsened country for 2015, having worsened by a significant 9.1, the fifth-largest year-on-year points worsening in the history of the Index. Notably, not only did Ukraine suffer for the conflict on its territory, but the belligerent power, Russia, also saw its score worsen considerably. Not far behind Ukraine was Libya, which saw renewed conflict push its score further upwards, while Syria continued to crumble as its civil war raged on and Da'esh, or the Islamic State, added a new brutal dimension to the conflict. Indeed, Syria has now become one of the top ten most fragile countries for the first time in the history of the Index. Mali, the most worsened country in the 2013 Index, saw its score worsen significantly yet again, as the country continued to fight terrorist and rebel forces in the north.

The effects of the Ebola crisis were also picked up in the Index, with Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea all experiencing worsening scores. A hopeful story of 2014 was that Sierra Leone, which had featured in the most fragile ten countries in the first iteration of the Index in 2005, has graduated from the Alert category to the Warning category. The Ebola crisis negatively impacted Sierra Leone's improving trend, however more structurally there remains reason to be hopeful that Sierra Leone — and Liberia, too — will return to an improving trend in coming years.

Reflective of the spiraling insecurity in the post Arab Spring world, marred by complex local ethnic and social-economic tensions overlaid with sectarian Sunni and Shia divides and regional power plays, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Iraq all made the top ten in the Most Worsened for 2015. Though each has its own conflict dynamics, political fragmentation and humanitarian crises, the deepening fragility across the four states over the past year is reshaping the whole regional landscape. The headline-grabbing rise of the Islamic State in the past twelve months has exacerbated sectarian divides across the region, and contributed to insecurity in varying degrees within the four countries. Overtaking swaths of territory in Iraq and Syria, the Islamic State has also emboldened jihadist affiliates in both

**Broken Records: Largest Year-on-Year Worsening**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| +16.2 | Libya | (2011 - 2012) |
| +12.5 | Japan | (2011 - 2012) |
| +11.9 | Lebanon | (2006 - 2007) |
| +11.4 | Mali | (2012 - 2013) |
| **+9.1** | **Ukraine** | **(2014 - 2015)** |
| +8.6 | Syria | (2011 - 2012) |
| +8.1 | Iceland | (2008 - 2009) |
| +8.0 | Georgia | (2008 - 2009) |
| +8.0 | Kenya | (2008 - 2009) |
| **+7.5** | **Libya** | **(2014 - 2015)** |
| +6.7 | Comoros | (2008 - 2009) |
| +6.4 | Haiti | (2010 - 2011) |
| **+6.3** | **Syria** | **(2014 - 2015)** |
| +5.3 | C.A.R. | (2013 - 2014) |
| +5.3 | South Africa | (2007 - 2008) |

Libya and Yemen, capitalizing on both countries' intensifying political disintegration. With Group Grievance already at the highest score of 10 in Syria and Iraq, and Libya worsening by 0.3 as it descended into civil war between two fragmented government groups, followed by Yemen whose score rose to 9.4 with Houthi rebels and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) expanding influence, the fissures within society are strong drivers of conflict across these four embattled countries. With the State Legitimacy, Security Apparatus, Human Rights, and External Intervention indicators all worsening as their governance structures crumble, particularly in Syria, Iraq and Libya, it is unlikely that we will see any rapid transformations as we move into 2015.

Nigeria, already a fragile country facing internal political pressures and a ferocious campaign by Boko Haram insurgents in the north, saw its score worsen significantly as pre -election tensions mounted and its economy was beset with falling oil prices. Despite these pressures, stakeholders at every level rallied to ensure that the elections which took place in March and April 2015 were relatively peaceful. For a country that had previously been a defacto single party state at the federal level to peacefully pass the torch to an opposition party under such difficult social, economic, and political conditions, is no small feat. It has given pause to cynics and raised hopes in the possibility of a maturing democracy and representative governance in Nigeria. Still, more than ever, challenges remain. None of the conflict drivers have gone away. Next year will be critical for ensuring that Nigeria truly is on a trajectory towards sustainable peace and security and that this peaceful transition was not just a blip on the radar screen.

As much as the Index is perhaps telling us things we already know — the increasing instability in Iraq, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Ukraine, Russia, Syria, and Yemen, as well as the crises in the Ebola-hit countries — the Index is also helpful in bringing to the fore issues that are far from the headlines.

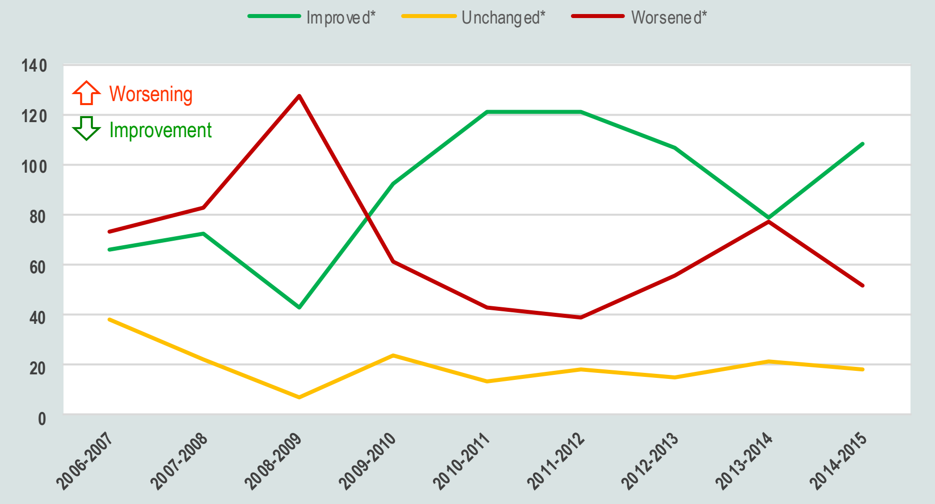
Take India, for example, where the world's second-most populous nation is among the ten most worsened countries in 2015, the continuing of a trend that has seen India worsen significantly in the past decade.

In May 2014, India elected Narendra Modi as Prime Minister, with his center-right National Democratic Alliance winning the biggest governing majority since 1984. Modi was greeted with an enthusiastic optimism by much of the youth vote and wider Hindu majority population, as well as on the international stage, as the enigmatic new leader signed trade deals and strengthened partnerships with world leaders during 2014. Though the landmark political shift in India's history gave the country a boost in the State Legitimacy indicator, the simmering ethnic, religious and social tensions within the country have contributed to the worsening of India's overall 2015 Index score. With indicators such as Human Flight, Human Rights, Factionalized Elites and Group Grievance all worsening, entrenched divides between the Hindu majority which accounts for 80 per cent of the population, and the Muslim 13 per cent and 2 per cent Christian minorities remained apparent. Modi's close political ties with radical Hindu groups has not helped to promote religious tolerance, with mass forced conversions of Muslims and Christians to Hinduism reported, including in Modi's home

state of Gujarat. Ethnic violence also spiked in Northern India in December when the National Democratic Front of Bodoland staged an insurgency campaign to create an independent state, killing scores of villagers. Gender violence within India also continues to be a pervasive issue, with the rape and murder of 14 and 15 year old sisters from a low caste in Badaun garnering international media attention and sparking widespread protests in India.

Or even less likely to be on the agenda of the world's media is The Gambia, the tenth most worsened country in 2015, which was subject to an attempted coup against President Yahya Jammeh in December 2014. As a country with agriculture as its main source of employment, Gambia is still feeling the effects of the drought of that reduced crop production by 70 per cent in 2011. With the country's GDP growth estimated to have contracted by 0.7 per cent in 2014, affected by the a sharp decline in tourism and other sectors due to the regional Ebola outbreak, Gambia's indicators for Poverty and Economic Decline and Human Flight have worsened in 2015. As one of the most densely populated countries in Africa, its growing urbanization has resulted in large rural-urban wealth inequality, prompting a worsening in its Uneven Economic Development indicator for the 2015 Index. The foiled coup attempt staged by Gambian soldiers also undermined the Security Apparatus and State Legitimacy indicators. The repressive President Jammeh who has held power since staging his own coup in 1994, prompted a worsening of the Human Rights and Rule of Law indicator, as he passed new legislation criminalizing homosexuality carrying punishments as harsh as life imprisonment.

**How the World is Doing:**
**Improving versus Worsening Trends, 2006-2015**




## But Still, There is Hope

The news headlines would suggest that there is much to be worried about in the world. Indeed, there is much conflict and suffering to be found in numerous countries at the more fragile end of the Index. But in actuality, there is much to be hopeful about.

Between 2014 and 2015, 108 countries improved by more than 0.2 points, while only half as many (52) worsened by greater than 0.2 points. This continues a long-standing trend in the Index where generally more countries improve year-on-year than they do worsen. In the past decade, there has been an overall improvement worldwide, where roughly the same ratio of countries are better off today than they were ten years ago.

As an international community, we must recognize where instability and fragility exist and take measures to mitigate it accordingly. But equally, the Fragile States Index demonstrates to us that we must also recognize the great strides forward that many countries are making, and as much as fragility persists in some corners of the world, on balance, stability and prosperity is significantly on the rise.

# The Methodology Behind the Fragile States Index

Weak and failing states pose a challenge to the international community. In a highly interconnected world, with a globalized economy, information systems and interlaced security, pressures on one fragile state can have serious repercussions not only for that state and its people, but also for its neighbors and other states halfway across the globe.

Since the end of the Cold War, a number of states have erupted into mass violence stemming from internal conflict. Some of these crises are ethnic conflicts. Some are civil wars. Others take on the form of revolutions. Many result in complex humanitarian emergencies. Though the dynamics may differ in each case, all of these conflicts stem from social, economic, and political pressures that have not been managed by professional, legitimate, and representative state institutions.

Fault lines emerge between identity groups, defined by language, religion, race, ethnicity, nationality, class, caste, clan or area of origin. Tensions can deteriorate into conflict through a variety of circumstances, such as competition over resources, predatory or fractured leadership, corruption, or unresolved group grievances. The reasons for state weakness and failure are complex but not unpredictable. It is critically important that the international community understand and closely monitor the conditions that contribute to fragility—and be prepared to take the necessary actions to deal with the underlying issues or otherwise mitigate the negative effects.

To have meaningful early warning, and effective policy responses, assessments must go beyond specialized area knowledge, narrative case studies and anecdotal evidence to identify and grasp broad social trends. A "mixed methods" approach using qualitative and quantitative techniques is needed to establish patterns and trends. Without the right data and analysis it is impossible to identify problems that may be festering below the radar. Decision makers need access to this kind of information to implement effective policies. Decision makers need access to this kind of information to implement effective policies.

The Fragile States Index, produced by the Fund for Peace, is a critical tool in highlighting not only the normal pressures that all states experience, but also in identifying when those pressures are pushing a state towards the brink of failure. By highlighting pertinent issues in weak and failing states, the Index — and the social science framework and the data analysis tools upon which it is built — makes political risk assessment and early warning of conflict accessible to policy-makers and the public at large.

The strength of the Fragile States Index is its ability to distill millions of pieces of information into a form that is relevant as well as easily digestible and informative. Daily, the Fund for Peace collects thousands of reports and information from around the world, detailing the existing social, economic and political pressures faced by each of the 178 countries that we analyze.

The Index is based on the Fund for Peace's proprietary Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST) analytical platform. Based on comprehensive social science methodology, data from three primary sources is triangulated and subjected to critical review to obtain final scores for the Index.

Millions of documents are analyzed every year. By applying highly specialized search parameters, scores are apportioned for every country based on twelve key political, social and economic indicators (which in turn include over 100 sub-indicators) that are the result of years of painstaking expert social science research.

Through both integration and triangulation techniques, the CAST platform separates the relevant data from the irrelevant. Guided by twelve primary social, economic and political indicators (each split into an average of 14 sub -indicators), we first use content analysis using specialized search terms that flag relevant items. This analysis is then converted into a score representing the significance of each of the various pressures for a given country.

The content analysis is further juxtaposed against two other key aspects of the overall assessment process: quantitative analysis and qualitative inputs based on major events in the countries examined. This "mixed methods" approach also helps to ensure that inherent weaknesses, gaps, or biases in one source checked by the others. Though the basic data underpinning of the Index is already freely and widely available electronically, the strength of the analysis is in the methodological rigor and the systematic integration of a wide range of data sources.

Though the basic data underpinning of the Index is already freely and widely available electronically, the strength of the analysis is in the methodological rigor and the systematic integration of a wide range of data sources.



## Social Indicators

### Demographic Pressures

Pressures on the population such as disease and natural disasters make it difficult for the government to protect its citizens or demonstrate a lack of capacity or will.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Natural Disasters
- Disease
- Environment
- Pollution
- Food Scarcity
- Malnutrition
- Water Scarcity
- Population Growth
- Youth Bulge
- Mortality

### Refugees and IDPs

Pressures associated with population displacement. This strains public services and has the potential to pose a security threat.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Displacement
- Refugee Camps
- IDP Camps
- Disease related to Displacement
- Refugees per capita
- IDPs per capita
- Capacity to absorb

### Group Grievance

When tension and violence exists between groups, the state's ability to provide security is undermined and fear and further violence may ensue.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Discrimination
- Powerlessness
- Ethnic Violence
- Communal Violence
- Sectarian Violence
- Religious Violence

### Human Flight & Brain Drain

When there is little opportunity, people migrate, leaving a vacuum of human capital. Those with resources also often leave before, or just as, conflict erupts.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Migration per capita
- Human Capital
- Emigration of Educated Citizens

## Economic Indicators

### Uneven Economic Development

When there are ethnic, religious, or regional disparities, governments tend to be uneven in their commitment to the social contract.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- GINI Coefficient
- Income Share of Highest 10%
- Income Share of Lowest 10%
- Rural v. Urban Distribution of Services
- Improved Service Access
- Slum Population

### Poverty & Economic Decline

Poverty and economic decline strain the ability of the state to provide for its citizens if they cannot provide for themselves and can create friction between "haves" and "have nots".

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Economic Deficit
- Government Debt
- Unemployment
- Youth Employment
- Purchasing Power
- GDP per capita
- GDP Growth
- Inflation

## Political and Military Indicators

### State Legitimacy

Corruption and lack of representativeness in the government directly undermine social contract.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Corruption
- Government Effectiveness
- Political Participation
- Electoral Process
- Level of Democracy
- Illicit Economy
- Drug Trade
- Protests and Demonstrations
- Power Struggles

### Public Services

The provision of health, education, and sanitation services, among others, are key roles of the state.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Policing
- Criminality
- Education Provision
- Literacy
- Water & Sanitation
- Infrastructure
- Quality Healthcare
- Telephony
- Internet Access
- Energy Reliability
- Roads

### Human Rights & Rule of Law

When human rights are violated or unevenly protected, the state is failing in its ultimate responsibility.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Press Freedom
- Civil Liberties
- Political Freedoms
- Human Trafficking
- Political Prisoners
- Incarceration
- Religious Persecution
- Torture
- Executions

### Security Apparatus

The security apparatus should have a monopoly on use of legitimate force. The social contract is weakened where affected by competing groups.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Internal Conflict
- Small Arms Proliferation
- Riots and Protests
- Fatalities from Conflict
- Military Coups
- Rebel Activity
- Militancy
- Bombings
- Political Prisoners

### Factionalized Elites

When local and national leaders engage in deadlock and brinksmanship for political gain, this undermines the social contract.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Power Struggles
- Defectors
- Flawed Elections
- Political Competition

### External Intervention

When the state fails to meet its international or domestic obligations, external actors may intervene to provide services or to manipulate internal affairs.

*Includes pressures and measures related to:*

- Foreign Assistance
- Presence of Peacekeepers
- Presence of UN Missions
- Foreign Military Intervention
- Sanctions
- Credit Rating

# Widespread Violence and Insecurity Strikes the Central African Republic

## Very High Alert

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 111.9 | Central African Rep. (3) | +3.4 | ↑ |
| 114.0 | Somalia (2) | +1.4 | ↑ |
| 114.5 | South Sudan (1) | +1.6 | ↑ |
| 110.8 | Sudan (4) | +0.7 | ↑ |

### Nate Haken and Hannah Blyth

The Central African Republic (CAR) is a vast, beautiful land about the size of Texas, but with a fraction of its population. It is home to sprawling herds of forest elephants roaming the Dzanga-Ndoki national park along the Sangha River. Logging towns have sprung up where Muslim merchants sell bread and flip-flops. On the outskirts of town, Bayaka pygmies harvest honey, and play stringed instruments with their thumbs.

However, the people of CAR have also experienced some of the most abject cycles of violence, poverty and exploitation since gaining independence from France in 1960. The resource-rich and land-locked nation has often become a causality to the instability of its regional neighbors, which include Sudan, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo, Chad and Cameroon.

One of the prevailing drivers of insecurity is the presence of rebels from these neighboring countries. During 2013 and 2014, CAR was scene to the worst violence in the country's history as fighting broke out between mostly Muslim Séléka rebels and government forces. Violence worsened in 2014 as anti-Séléka militias formed and started committing atrocities against Muslim communities throughout much of the country, leading to

## Arab Spring Turns to Winter for Much of Middle East, North Africa

### Felipe Umaña

Only a few years ago, much of the Fragile States Index analysis was following the aftermath of the Arab Spring. At the time, there was significant hope for the future, as the despotic regime of Muammar Gaddafi fell in Libya, similarly undemocratic regimes collapsed in Egypt and Tunisia, and other countries hastily rushed through liberal, democratic reforms in the hopes of staving off their own demise. But fast forward only a few years, and (despite generally positive signs in Tunisia) most of that hope has evaporated. Iraq, Libya, Syria and Yemen — among the 2015 Index's most high risk nations — have witnessed some of the most significant declines over the past year.

For this year's Index, Yemen saw over a 3-point increase primarily as a result of the political and social unrest fomented by the Houthi movement in August, as well as the rebel group's subsequent attempts to seize political power in Sana'a. Though much has occurred in Yemen during 2015 to suggest that its score will worsen even more in the 2016 Index, it was evident that the country's fortunes were already getting worse over the past year. For example, moves by the former government, such as the decision to remove fuel subsidies from impoverished provinces, prompted many to demonstrate and take up arms, leading to increases in Yemen's Uneven Development indicator score. More broadly, this unrest became the catalyst for the burgeoning conflict for the remainder of the year. Though a UN-brokered deal offered some hope for political security, conditions steadily worsened in late 2014 and violence erupted, as evidenced by a stark rise in several indicators. Of course, the 2015 Index does not reflect the subsequent resignation of the government in January 2015, and the power grab by the Houthis that has led Yemen to deteriorate even further, continuing a long-running trend that has seen Yemen rank as one of the world's ten most fragile states for four years running.

Syria saw a decline from 164th on the 2014 Index to 170th in 2015, with an 8-point increase in its total score as it saw worsening conditions in virtually all of its indicators. The complex conflict in the country has continued to pit President Bashar al-Assad's regime against a weakened armed opposition and various jihadist militants, including al-Qaeda's Jabhat al-Nusra and its rival, the Islamic State. The latter has wreaked havoc throughout much of the country's central, eastern, and northern provinces and has exacerbated existing issues with refugee and migrant

accusations of ethnic cleansing and incitement of genocide.

In the 2015 Index, CAR is now the third most fragile state, after South Sudan and Somalia, with a score of 111.9, up from number ninth in 2013 (105.3), when president François Bozizé was deposed and replaced briefly by Michel Djotodia until he resigned. The current interim heads of state, Catherine Samba-Panza who was appointed President in January 2014, along with CAR's first Muslim Prime Minister Mahamat Kamout in August 2014, have not been able to bring about a lasting ceasefire amidst the sectarian violence. In the meantime, hundreds of thousands have been displaced, thousands killed, over 12,000 UN peacekeeping troops have been deployed, and GDP growth has plummeted.

Despite the overall worsening by 1.9 points in the 2015 Index, CAR's Human Flight indicator improved, though not necessarily for the right reasons. The UNHCR estimates that there were more than 900,000 People of Concern residing within CAR by July 2014, including 535,000 Internally Displaced Persons. Yet in a population of 4.6 million people, UNHCR estimates there were less than 400,000 recognized refugees and asylum seekers collectively originating from CAR in the same period. The inability of the population to flee the country – whether this is due to poverty, internal insecurity or cross border constraints, highlights the severity of the challenges faced by the country.

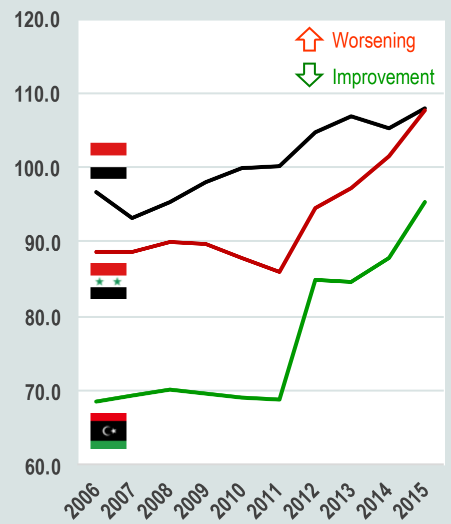
CAR has long been fragile, fraught with coups, rebellions and spill over from regional conflicts. However the wave of widespread militant violence which has swept the country since 2013 represents a deepening of the insecurity on a new worrying scale. CAR has a long road ahead to beat the cycle of state fragility, however given the level of international attention it has received in the last year, there is still hope that 2015 will be better.

populations, ethnic and sectarian grievances, human rights abuses, and overall violence and instability — all indicators with a maximum possible score of 10 points.

The situation in Iraq mirrors that of neighboring Syria, as many of Syria's same ailments afflict Iraq's economic, political, and social conditions. While rising oil exports and a key oil revenue compromise with the northern Kurdish population prompted minor improvements from the country's 2014 Uneven Development and Poverty indicator scores, Iraq has lost nearly one-third of its territory to the Islamic State. Legitimacy similarly wilted under persisting sectarian enmity and international humanitarian and military intervention.

Finally, post-Gaddhafi Libya continued to deteriorate in 2014, as the internationally recognized government was forced to depart in August to the eastern port city of Tobruk. Various indicators further declined as militant groups — including those allied with the Islamic State — dislodged the government's authority and assumed the role of providing critical services to the war-weary population. While Demographic Pressures and Uneven Economic Development improved marginally, oil production suffered due to ongoing fighting. Importantly, the country's Refugee and Human Flight scores saw large increases, further contributing to the still-ongoing Mediterranean migrant crisis. Though Libya gained an Alert rating in the 2015 Index, there is every reason to expect that in the coming years, without stemming the current tide, Libya could join Iraq, Syria, and Yemen with a High Alert rating. Unfortunately, though there was great hope for an Arab Spring, the region could well be in for a long Winter.

**Arab Springback:**
**Libya, Syria, and Yemen: 2006-2015**



# Beating the Odds: Nigeria Defies Predictions of Doom

## High Alert

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 107.9 | Afghanistan (8) | +1.4 | ↑ (red) |
| 108.4 | Chad (6) | –0.3 | ↓ (green outline) |
| 100.0 | Cote d'Ivoire (15) | –1.7 | ↓ (green) |
| 109.7 | Congo (Dem. Rep.) (5) | –0.5 | ↓ (green outline) |
| 104.9 | Guinea (10) | +2.2 | ↑ (red) |
| 104.5 | Haiti (11) | +0.2 | |
| 104.5 | Iraq (11) | +2.3 | ↑ (red) |
| 102.4 | Nigeria (14) | +2.7 | ↑ (red) |
| 102.9 | Pakistan (13) | –0.1 | |
| 107.9 | Syria (8) | +6.3 | ↑ (red) |
| 108.1 | Yemen (7) | +1.6 | ↑ (red) |
| 100.0 | Zimbabwe (15) | –2.8 | ↓ (green) |

Countries listed in alphabetical order.
Points change versus 2014 score.
Red arrows signify worsening year-on-year; green arrows signify improvement.

Nate Haken

The world is not deterministic. People have a say. If ever there was any doubt, Nigeria belied that notion with elections in March and April of this year in which the sky did not fall as just about everybody feared it might. Yes, there were reports of rigging and violence at various levels. But cooler heads prevailed and Nigeria stepped away from the brink.

The underlying drivers have not gone away, but the trigger that elections so often represent was recognized early and dealt with in a statesmanlike way by individuals in leadership who had the public interest of the Nigerian people at heart. Civil society stepped up. Early Warning systems were established. Civic education was prioritized. Forums were held across the country sensitizing youth as to the dangers of election violence. Thousands of traditional rulers, public officials, youth and women's leaders, and human rights activists joined the Partners for Peace Network in the Niger Delta to work for non-violent elections. Professor Attahiru Jega, the chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) withstood all manner of political pressure and logistical challenges to ensure that the election would be as credible as possible. The two leading candidates, incumbent Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari signed a pact, eschewing violence and promising to respect the outcome. Then when the results were still coming in and it became clear that that challenger Buhari was going to win, in an unprecedented move President Jonathan called Buhari and congratulated him, setting the tone for a peaceful transition.

Conflict drivers in Nigeria are complex and overlapping. Issues of poverty, inequality, a high dependence on oil exports for government revenue, corruption and patronage networks, as well as challenges around public health, infrastructure, education, and access to finance abound. Zero-sum fault lines spider-webbing across society spark sectarian, inter-communal, intra-communal, political, and criminal violence. Communal

## Mapping Conflict Data in the Niger Delta

Hannah Blyth

There are many different ways to collect, measure, and use data on peace and conflict to affect change at the local, national and international levels. While the Fragile States Index methodology focuses on mapping fragility at a national level, the Partners for Peace (P4P) project in Nigeria represents an important example of how the same underlying framework of indicators can be used at a local level.

Since August 2013, over 2,700 traditional rulers, civil society actors, government officials, community leaders, and students have come together to empower the communities most affected by violence and give voice to those most committed to peace and development in Nigeria. They have created nine state-level chapters in the Niger Delta, and dozens of sub-chapters at the local government area level. Hundreds have been trained in conflict assessment and are now actively implementing peace-building projects and activities to address communal conflict, land disputes, political tensions, and youth restiveness across the region.

FFP has partnered with the Foundation for Partnerships in the Niger Delta (PIND) to catalyze, facilitate, and support this network through several key initiatives, including the P4P Peacebuilding Map. Consolidating the twelve indictors used in the Index into eight conflict indicators (and 57 sub-indicators), the interactive map compiles the shared knowledge of the wider peace-building community to derive patterns of conflict risk.

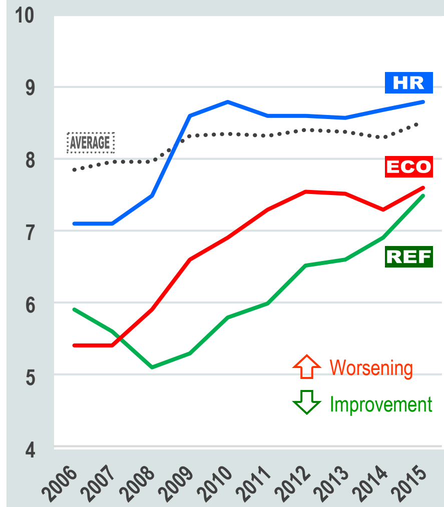
violence, often between pastoralists and farmers, occurs in the Middle Belt. In the oil rich Niger Delta region, violence often relates to competition over “resource control.” In the Northeast, the so-called “Boko Haram” insurgency has killed thousands since it burst onto the scene in the summer of 2009.

Last year was especially difficult for Nigeria. Insurgency in the Northeast was more intense than ever before, even breaking into the international mainstream media headlines with the abduction of hundreds of school girls in Chibok. Political polarization was mounting as the opposition All Progressives Party (APC) was emerging as a real threat to the status quo. Oil prices were down, putting pressure on public service and patronage networks alike. Conventional wisdom had it that if Jonathan won, it would be hell in the North and if Buhari won, it would be hell in the South. But when push came to shove, Jonathan took the higher ground. Armed groups in the Niger Delta, as it turns out, are more transactional than ideological. As we suspected, the gubernatorial elections were more violent than the presidential elections in the Niger Delta, especially in Rivers State. But even there, it could have been much worse.

It still might. The conflict drivers have not gone away. After the election, a strike by fuel importers brought the economy to a temporary standstill; long lines of cars and trucks formed at gas stations, sitting immobile for hours at a time. Black market prices spiked. And now it appears that the ex-militants in the Niger Delta are starting to rattle their sabers once again, threatening violence in a bid to influence the new administration. Meanwhile in the North, Boko Haram continues to detonate bombs. In the Middle Belt, land and pastoral conflicts continue.

But if we’ve learned anything from the Fragile States Index and the events of the last few months, it is clear that even in the most polarized of environments, under the highest levels of social, economic, political and security pressure, if there is clarity about the risk, and engagement by all levels of society to anticipate and dampen the effects of trigger events, the worst can be avoided. And perhaps in the long run, peace can be sustainable.

**Nigeria: Total Score, 2006-2015**

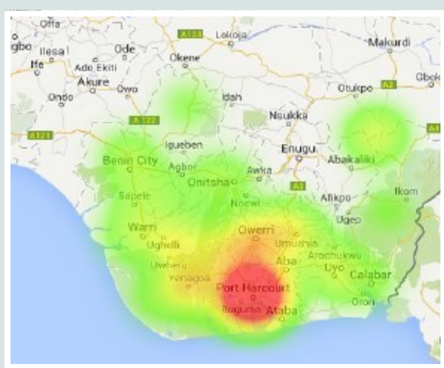



The map integrates data on conflict from a wide range of sources (over 14,000 incidents) and lists the locations of peace-building actors (over 420 peace initiatives to date) who are working to address those risk factors at a local level. The map remains a continually expanding resource which can be used at a local-level for conflict assessments to identify hotspots and analyze the root causes of conflict, as well as derive state and national trends to inform preventative action.

Through conflict mapping, the resource has also been used as the foundation for a book tracing possible terrorism conflicts in Nigeria from the birth of Boko Haram in the North between 2009 and 2013 by FFP’s Nate Haken and Patricia Taft (*Violence in Nigeria: Patterns and Trends; Springer 2015*).

*The image left is an example of a P4P Heat map, plotting incidents in the Niger Delta during March 2015, using data from P4P, ACLED, Council on Foreign Relations, Fund for Peace, NEEWS2015/ TMG, Nigeria Watch and NSRP.*

**The Heat is On: Mapping Violence in the Niger Delta**



# Crumbling Roads and a Health Crisis: West Africa Confronts Ebola

## Alert

| Score | Country (Rank) | Change |
|---|---|---|
| 91.8 | Bangladesh (32) | –1.0 |
| 98.1 | Burundi (18) | +1.0 |
| 94.3 | Cameroon (28) | +1.2 |
| 90.8 | Congo (Republic) (33) | +1.2 |
| 90.0 | Egypt (38) | –1.0 |
| 96.9 | Eritrea (24) | +1.4 |
| 97.5 | Ethiopia (20) | –0.4 |
| 99.9 | Guinea Bissau (17) | –0.7 |
| 97.4 | Kenya (21) | –1.6 |
| 97.3 | Liberia (22) | +3.0 |
| 95.3 | Libya (25) | +6.5 |
| 93.1 | Mali (30) | +3.3 |
| 94.9 | Mauritania (26) | +1.9 |
| 94.7 | Myanmar (Burma) (27) | –0.4 |
| 90.5 | Nepal (36) | –0.5 |
| 97.8 | Niger (19) | –0.1 |
| 93.8 | North Korea (29) | –0.2 |
| 90.2 | Rwanda (37) | –0.3 |
| 91.9 | Sierra Leone (31) | +2.0 |
| 90.6 | Sri Lanka (34) | –2.0 |
| 90.6 | Timor-Leste (34) | –0.4 |
| 97.0 | Uganda (23) | +1.0 |

Countries listed in alphabetical order.
Points change versus 2014 score.
Red arrows signify worsening year-on-year; green arrows signify improvement.

Patricia Taft

In December 2013 in a tiny village in Guinea, a young child fell ill and died of a disease that would come to define much of the news in 2014. The Ebola virus, previously only known in Central and East Africa, laid ravage to large swaths of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, three countries that had just begun to recover after years of civil war. Indeed, Liberia and Sierra Leone were featured in last year's Fragile States Index as two success stories, climbing back, slowly but steadily, from the abyss. Last year however laid bare where years of both national and international attention (or lack of attention, as in the case of Guinea) failed to address some of a country's most basic needs: a functioning public health system and passable roads.

In the case of Ebola in West Africa, prior development assistance for infrastructure turned out to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the building of roads to connect far flung villages to the capitals and major cities in each country likely contributed to the spread of the disease, as infected individuals often walked for hours on roads to seek assistance outside of their formerly isolated villages. On the other hand, the condition of these roads, which were often built hastily and then fell into disrepair when national governments had neither the money nor the interest in keeping them up, became impassable during the rainy season when they essentially melted back into the jungle. For health care and humanitarian aid workers, this made the task of reaching the sick and dying

## A Tough Neighborhood: Kenya Weathers Regional Instability

Patricia Taft and Kendall Lawrence

Long considered an anchor of relative stability in East Africa, Kenya is considered to be one of the strongest emerging markets in Africa. Despite significant pressures, their economy continues impressive growth, with the World Bank projecting continued gains over the next few years. Kenya has also made significant gains in the technology sector, leading the region – and in some cases, the continent – in the development and deployment of mobile banking and telecommunications platforms.

Kenya also benefits from a highly educated and productive young population, although issues of youth unemployment and disenfranchisement remain in some parts of the country. The cycle of violence that plagued Kenya following the 2007 elections has also abated, although whether historical issues of Group Grievance are being effectively addressed at all levels of society over the longer term remains to be seen.

Additionally, Kenya is an example of a country that is plagued by severe outside pressures stemming from the instability of its neighbors. The most consistent, highly publicized threats emanate from one of the Index's most consistently fragile states, Somalia. Kenya has been the recipient of unrelenting attacks from the Somalia-based al-Shabaab, a designated terrorist group with ties to al-Qaeda, for several years now, including throughout 2014. These attacks continue to effect Kenya across multiple indicators, from the status of the Security Apparatus to Human Rights and the Rule of Law. Kenya is also host to one of the

nearly impossible at times. In an odd twist of fate, however, the very neglect of the national road system by the government may well have ended up saving thousands of lives in Liberia. In multiple reports, including many issued by the FFP from 2010-2014, the government was criticized for their extremely slow pace in connecting counties in the east and southeast of Liberia with the capital. These counties, which were often hotspots of the opposition, were essentially completely cut off from the capital during the rainy season. In several interviews conducted by FFP, individuals stated that they felt more like a citizen of neighboring Cote d'Ivoire than Liberia, as much of their news, food and basic supplies came across that border rather than from the capital. This very isolation, albeit disastrous for a sense of national identity, very likely halted the spread of Ebola to these population-dense counties. And, in turn, may have stopped its transmission across the border into Cote d'Ivoire, although this is largely speculative.

In either case, though, one of the lessons of the 2014 Ebola crisis was that basic infrastructure projects, like building durable roads, are crucial in post-conflict societies. While not necessarily as "sexy" as other post-conflict efforts, a lack of a viable state infrastructure can be disastrous in both a political sense as well as a humanitarian one. Even in cases where there was a dedicated effort in the aftermath of war towards infrastructure repair outside of the capital, like in Sierra Leone, years of wear and tear later, some roads were just as impassable as those in Guinea, a place that was never the recipient of such international largesse.

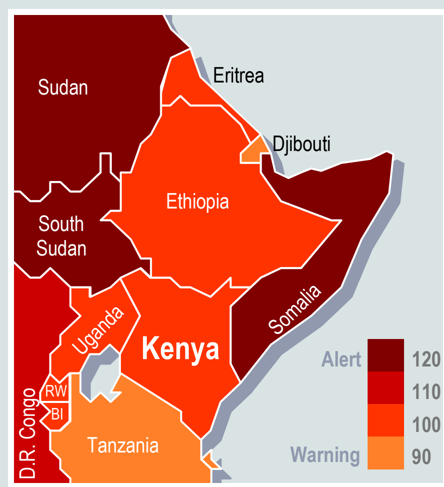
To be sure, a quick look at the Demographic Pressures Indicator for each country in the 2015 Index, which is where non-existent or crumbling infrastructure is often revealed, underscores how ill-prepared each nation was to deal with the Ebola crisis. This should serve as food for thought as the international community analyzes the lessons of this outbreak and what can and should be learned in its aftermath. Although the three countries have thankfully been declared Ebola free and are again on the path to recovery, the Ebola outbreak of 2014 showed the world just how vulnerable post-conflict nations remain, even years into their healing.

largest refugee populations in the world, totaling over 500,000 in 2014 alone. The refugee crisis, which stems from instability not only in Somalia but also South Sudan, D.R. Congo, and Ethiopia, puts immense pressure on Kenya's Public Services and also affects its Demographic Pressures scores.

To be sure, over the past ten years and particularly following the post-election violence of 2008, Kenya has developed legislation and policies that are intended to address both domestic and external pressures. Kenya's new constitution, promulgated in 2010, calls for the devolution of power away from the central government in Nairobi to 47 counties throughout the country. The adoption and implementation of a series of international recommendations meant to address the deep societal grievances that not only led to the explosion of violence in 2008, but also years of conflict and unrest, have also been ongoing. While these reforms are no doubt both progressive and needed, the process of implementation and incorporation at the local level remains slow and uneven. Like most other countries on the Index, Kenya is not monolithic and pressures vary widely from region to region. Given this reality, for legislative and policy changes to have true impact, a stronger focus on implementation at the grassroots level is required.

Finally, Kenya has long had a vibrant civil society that has been fundamental in the post-colonial evolution of the country. Serious concerns over the freedom of Kenyan civil society and the national press have been raised over the past several years and deserve continued attention if the country's impressive economic gains are to be matched with similar progress across its social and political indicators.

## Kenya: Life in a Tough Neighborhood



# Total Scores Are Not All That They Seem: The Cases of Iran, Lebanon, and Russia

## High Warning

| Score | Country (Rank) | Change | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 88.1 | Angola (40) | +0.7 | ⇧ |
| 89.2 | Burkina Faso (39) | +0.2 | ⇧ |
| 87.9 | Cambodia (43) | –0.6 | ⇩ |
| 82.5 | Colombia (61) | +0.6 | ⇧ |
| 83.3 | Comoros (59) | –1.8 | ⬇ |
| 88.1 | Djibouti (40) | +1.0 | ⬆ |
| 84.8 | Equatorial Guinea (54) | –0.5 | ⇩ |
| 85.4 | Gambia (51) | +2.3 | ⬆ |
| 80.4 | Guatemala (64) | +0.1 | |
| 87.2 | Iran (44) | 0.0 | |
| 82.2 | Kyrgyz Republic (62) | –1.7 | ⬇ |
| 84.5 | Laos (55) | +0.2 | ⇧ |
| 88.1 | Lebanon (40) | +1.2 | ⬆ |
| 83.6 | Madagascar (56) | +0.5 | ⇧ |
| 86.9 | Malawi (45) | –2.2 | ⬇ |
| 86.9 | Mozambique (45) | +1.0 | ⬆ |
| 83.4 | Papua New Guinea (57) | –2.3 | ⬇ |
| 86.3 | Philippines (48) | +1.0 | ⬆ |
| 80.0 | Russia (65) | +3.5 | ⬆ |
| 83.0 | Senegal (60) | +0.2 | |
| 85.9 | Solomon Islands (50) | –0.5 | ⇩ |
| 86.3 | Swaziland (48) | +0.5 | ⇧ |
| 83.4 | Tajikistan (57) | –1.2 | ⬇ |
| 80.8 | Tanzania (63) | 0.0 | |
| 86.8 | Togo (47) | –1.0 | ⬇ |
| 85.4 | Uzbekistan (51) | –0.9 | ⇩ |
| 85.2 | Zambia (53) | +1.0 | ⬆ |

Points change versus 2014 score.

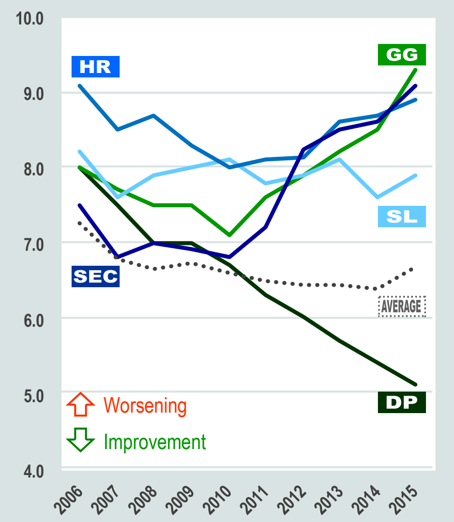
Hannah Blyth

In viewing the annual Fragile States Index scores for a particular country, it is important to look at the underlying indicators to properly understand a country's challenges and performance. Even where a country may have an overall trend in one direction, its individual indicators may actually be heading in very different directions.

Russia, for example, is the fourth most-worsened country year-on-year in 2015, and yet over the past decade it ranks among the most improved. How is this possible? Well, it's complicated. Russia faces well-publicized challenges that have suddenly taken a turn for the worst. Its adventures and increasingly hostile overtures in its region are placing pressure on the country, as are the related economic sanctions from the West. Meanwhile, falling oil prices have further harmed an economy that banks on commodity prices being at a higher level. The overall decade trend for Russia is one of improvement, yet its individual indicators tell a different story — as much as a number of indicators are significantly improving (such as Demographic Pressures and Human Flight), others are headed in the opposite direction (such as Group Grievance, State Legitimacy, Human Rights, and External Intervention).

As the machismo figurehead of Russian power pulls media stunts on state media, President Putin's increasingly authoritarian leadership of the world's largest landmass nation has had implications both within and beyond its expansive borders. Donning his ice hockey gear to play in front of thousands in Russian fans in the stadium that had hosted the Sochi Winter Olympic just a few months earlier, the 62-year old President and his Defense Minister won a choreographed match alongside retired Soviet hockey legends - a not so subtle ode to their incursion and annexation of Crimea that same month. At arm's length, it would seem Putin enjoys overwhelming Russian support for his ethno-nationalist foreign policy as well as domestic political mantle. However such overt displays of physical power belies the deepening of repression against free media, LGBT rights, and even the ability of independent NGOs to operate within the country. One of the last remaining free television stations in Russia, TV Rain, was shut down in January 2014 after broadcasting a poll asking viewers to vote on whether Leningrad should have surrendered during World War Two. With the indicators for Group Grievance worsening to 9.3 and Human

**All Over the Place: Russia, Select Indicators, 2006-2015**

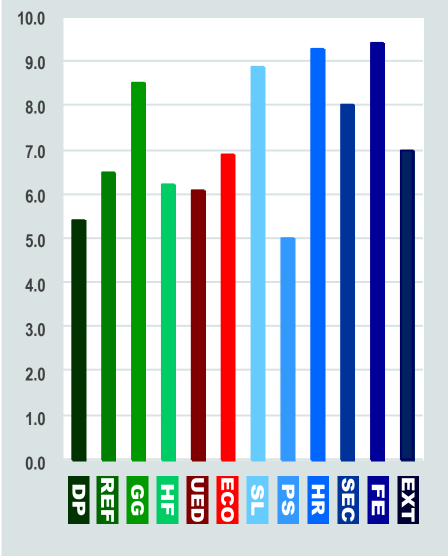


Rights and Rule of Law to 8.9 for the 2015 Index, combined with an economy in serious decline, the Russian leadership should have more cause to pay attention to the murmuring instability within his own borders.

Similarly, a country's total score and even year-on-year trend can sometimes be somewhat misleading. Though Iran has remained completely unchanged in 2015, it has nevertheless worsened over the past decade. Its individual indicator scores are also quite variable, with a significant difference between, for example, decent Public Services versus high pressure on Factionalized Elites and poor Human Rights scores. The country has been able to remain steady overall in 2015, despite economic challenges and increasing insecurity in the region. Since the reformist-backed President Rouhani took power in June 2013, the country has seen progress in 2014 in areas such as a re-engagement with the West over nuclear talks which led to some sanctions relief, and short term improvements in Group Grievance and Uneven Economic Development indicators. Iran's prominent military support in 2014 for neighboring Iraq to fight Da'esh, commonly known as Islamic State, is likely to have had a rallying effect domestically, along with widespread support among the youth-dominated population for a nuclear deal that would see sanctions lifted. However with Iran holding almost 10 per cent of world crude oil reserves, and as the second largest oil consuming country in the Middle East, the country's economic indicator was weakened in 2014 by the dramatic fall in world oil prices. Over the past decade, Iran's Group Grievance indicator has worsened by 1.6 points, reflective of the long term factitious nature of the divided conservative and reformist Iranian political landscape, causing deep rifts within Iranian society over issues of religion, gender and the country's future direction. While optimism in the short term across at least some indicators for Iran may continue, it still has a long path ahead to enact lasting political and economic reform to achieve domestic stability.

Just as we have analyzed with the case of Kenya, a country's neighbors can have a significant impact on a country. No clearer is this the case than in Lebanon. The impact of the Syrian civil war has continued to worsen refugee pressures on the already fragile Lebanese state, which according to the UNHCR became the country with the highest per-capita concentration of refugees in the world in 2014. The refugee crisis, which rose to more than 1.1 million refugees residing within Lebanon by July 2014, has worsened socio-economic effects on the domestic population, and weakened both the Security Apparatus and the country's Rule of Law. Porous areas of the Lebanese and Syrian border continue to enable not only the mass influx of Syrian refugees, but also facilitate movement of weapons and human trafficking into the neighboring Syria. Battles between the Lebanese army and insurgents from Syria who overran the border town of Arsal in August 2014 has also undermined the state's border security, along with border clashes in October between Hezbollah and Syrian fighting force Jabhat al-Nusra, adding to the decade Index

**Iran:**
**Indicator-by-Indicator, 2015**




trend which has seen the Security Apparatus indicator worsen by 1.3 points. Compounding the external pressures is the ongoing fragile political power sharing system, with the Lebanese Parliament failing to reach consensus on a successor for President Suleiman who ended his term in May 2014, and continues to be marred by deep sectarian divisions. Yet in the face of such a patchwork of insecurity, political and economic fragility, and simmering sectarian divides which feed into the wider Syria and Iraq conflict, the Lebanese state remains intact. This resiliency, while it will inevitably continue to be tested in 2015 and beyond, must continue to be built upon if it is to avoid the risks of a return to its civil war past.

# A Long Way from the Orange Revolution: Ukraine's Fall from Grace

## Warning

| Score | Country (Rank) | Change |
|---|---|---|
| 79.6 | Algeria (67) | +0.8 |
| 77.3 | Azerbaijan (80) | –0.5 |
| 75.6 | Belarus (87) | –0.6 |
| 78.8 | Benin (73) | +0.6 |
| 78.7 | Bhutan (74) | –2.2 |
| 78.0 | Bolivia (77) | –0.9 |
| 77.4 | Bosnia & Herzegovina (79) | +1.5 |
| 73.5 | Cape Verde (95) | –0.6 |
| 76.4 | China (83) | –2.6 |
| 71.2 | Dominican Republic (105) | –2.2 |
| 75.9 | Ecuador (85) | –1.4 |
| 71.4 | El Salvador (102) | –0.6 |
| 76.8 | Fiji (82) | –2.2 |
| 71.3 | Gabon (103) | –0.9 |
| 79.3 | Georgia (70) | –3.4 |
| 71.9 | Ghana (98) | +1.2 |
| 70.5 | Guyana (107) | –0.5 |
| 78.2 | Honduras (76) | +0.3 |
| 79.4 | Israel (& West Bank) (68) | –0.1 |
| 76.9 | Jordan (81) | +0.2 |
| 79.4 | India (68) | +2.5 |

| Score | Country (Rank) | Change |
|---|---|---|
| 75.0 | Indonesia (88) | –1.8 |
| 79.9 | Lesotho (66) | +1.3 |
| 74.2 | Maldives (91) | –1.2 |
| 71.8 | Mexico (100) | +0.7 |
| 73.6 | Micronesia (94) | –1.0 |
| 73.0 | Moldova (96) | –2.1 |
| 74.6 | Morocco (89) | +0.2 |
| 70.8 | Namibia (106) | –0.7 |
| 79.0 | Nicaragua (72) | +0.6 |
| 71.3 | Paraguay (103) | –0.3 |
| 71.9 | Peru (98) | –1.0 |
| 73.7 | Sao Tome & Principe (93) | –1.9 |
| 71.6 | Saudi Arabia (101) | –1.5 |
| 73.8 | Serbia (92) | +1.8 |
| 79.1 | Thailand (71) | +2.1 |
| 75.8 | Tunisia (86) | –1.7 |
| 74.5 | Turkey (90) | +0.4 |
| 77.5 | Turkmenistan (78) | –0.7 |
| 76.3 | Ukraine (84) | +8.5 |
| 78.6 | Venezuela (75) | +1.9 |
| 72.4 | Vietnam (97) | –0.3 |

Countries listed in alphabetical order.
Points change versus 2014 score.
Red arrows signify worsening year-on-year; green arrows signify improvement.

Hannah Blyth

With the memories of optimism that came with the 2004 Orange Revolution fading, 2014 saw Ukraine once again become a regular fixture in the media headlines, but this time for far less hopeful reasons. The removal of a president, incursions by Russian-backed rebel forces and conflict throughout much of the country's east, the shooting down of a Malaysian commercial jet over its territory, and the annexation of Crimea, it has been an *annus horribilis* for Ukraine in 2014. This sharp decent in fragility has been clearly reflected in the country's score in the 2015 Index, but also prompts a reflection about the state's underlying structural issues which enabled such a rapid fall from grace.

In late 2013, widespread protests broke out against then-President Yanukovych, who spurned an association agreement with the European Union in favor of US$15 billion in assistance and gas supply reduction from his close Russian ally President Putin. With violence escalating between protesters and government forces in early 2014, the world watched closely as scenes of chaos and destruction in Independence Square erupted in February, with uniformed snipers firing on protestors as they seized government buildings. With President Yanukovych fleeing after being deposed by Parliament and an interim President installed later that month, it marked only the beginning of a much wider conflict for Ukraine ridden by ethnic tensions and regional power struggles.

Inflamed by a Parliamentary vote to ban Russian as the second official language,



## Warning Category

though overturned, ethnic tensions between Ukrainian and Russian speaking populations sparked a swift dissent into armed conflict. Pro-Russian militants seized the eastern region of Crimea, with Russia declaring its annexation in March, and continuing their expansion into Donetsk and Luhansk in May.

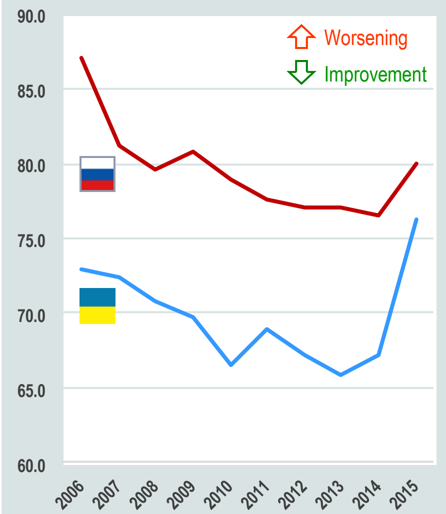
Amid violent clashes between Ukrainian military forces and separatists with rising casualties, Petro Poroshenko was elected as the new Ukrainian President with strong support from the United States and European Union. Further turmoil within the east continued in July, when Malaysian Airlines flight MH17 was shot down when flying over separatist-controlled Ukrainian territory, killing all 298 passengers. Garnering international outrage, and prompting fresh sanctions by the EU and U.S. on Russia, within a few short months the conflict had become an international focal point for declining Russian and Western relations.

With Ukraine's Index score worsening year-on-year by 9.1 points, the embattled state saw an eruption of the deep simmering socio-economic and ethnic divides combined with weak governance, Factionalized Elites and external influences which had besieged the country for years. The military conflict still underway in 2015 between Russian separatists and Ukrainian forces speaks to the long-held tensions between the 30 per cent minority Russian-speaking population and the 67 per cent majority Ukrainian speaking population.

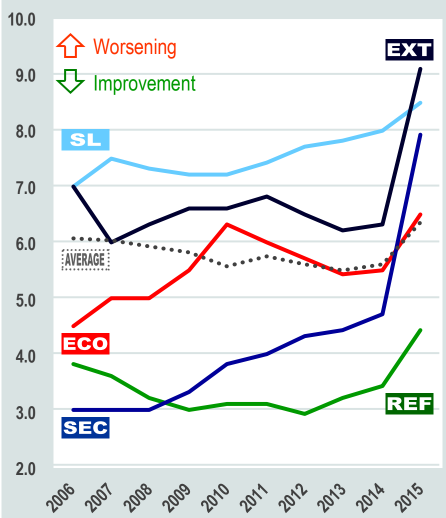
Since the 1990s, leadership of Ukraine has historically been aligned with Russia. With the exception of the brief period after the Orange Revolution in 2004, the government has derived much of its domestic support from the minority Russian-speaking population. In spite of this, language discrimination against the Russia-speaking minority has remained widespread, negatively impacting economic integration within the country. As a middle-income country with high debt and slow growth, Ukraine has been beset with socio-economic issues and Human Flight. It has relied heavily on trade with Russia, and was severely impacted by the 2008 financial crisis, in part because of a lack of diversification. Unemployment spiked in 2009 and has reached new highs since conflict broke out last year. This has been particularly salient in eastern areas where industry has been affected by the insecurity, perpetuating the deep animosity driven by socio-economic and ethnic rifts.

As these Ukrainian-Russian divisions only continue to be exacerbated by military conflict and a pro-Western President Poroshenko, and in turn becoming a proxy for fractious regional power politics, Ukraine has a little hope of addressing its deepening insecurity. Through focusing on strengthening governance, economic stability and social inclusion in the face of conflict and external intervention, Ukraine may just be able to resurface its Orange Revolution optimism to avoid falling into the dangerous spiral of state fragility.

**A Bear Market — Ukraine and Russia: Total Score 2006-2015**




**Up, Up, and Away — Ukraine: Select Indicators, 2006-2015**



# A Reform Agenda: Cuba Comes in from the Cold

## Low Warning

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 61.9 | Albania (125) | –1.7 | Improvement |
| 69.7 | Armenia (108) | –1.6 | Improvement |
| 64.3 | Bahrain (119) | –0.4 | Improvement |
| 65.3 | Belize (116) | –1.7 | Improvement |
| 62.8 | Botswana (122) | –1.7 | Improvement |
| 62.6 | Brazil (123) | +1.2 | Worsening |
| 63.0 | Brunei Darussalam (121) | –0.6 | Improvement |
| 67.4 | Cuba (112) | –3.4 | Improvement |
| 66.2 | Cyprus (114) | –1.7 | Improvement |
| 63.4 | Grenada (120) | –1.8 | Improvement |
| 64.6 | Jamaica (117) | –0.3 | Improvement |
| 68.3 | Kazakhstan (110) | –0.2 | |
| 64.5 | Macedonia (118) | –1.9 | Improvement |
| 65.9 | Malaysia (115) | –0.3 | Improvement |
| 68.2 | Samoa (111) | –1.1 | Improvement |
| 62.1 | Seychelles (124) | –1.6 | Improvement |
| 67.0 | South Africa (113) | +0.4 | Worsening |
| 68.4 | Suriname (109) | –2.2 | Improvement |

Countries listed in alphabetical order.
Points change versus 2014 score.
Red arrows signify worsening year-on-year; green arrows signify improvement.

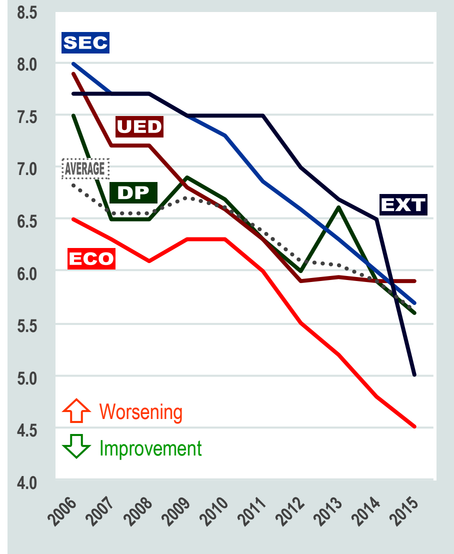
Patricia Taft and Kendall Lawrence

It the end of 2014, Cuba suddenly became news again when U.S. President Obama announced a plan to normalize relations with the country after nearly fifty years of political and economic isolation. But even before the announcement, Cuba was already on track to be one of the most improved countries in the 2014 Fragile States Index.

In areas like the provision of Public Services, Cuba's score has worsened slightly over ten years although all other indicators have improved. In the areas of Human Rights and State Legitimacy, there was a worsening over the past year as reports alleged extrajudicial abuse by public security forces and the continued repression of political opposition. Despite these negative marks, the trend over the past decade continues to be positive.

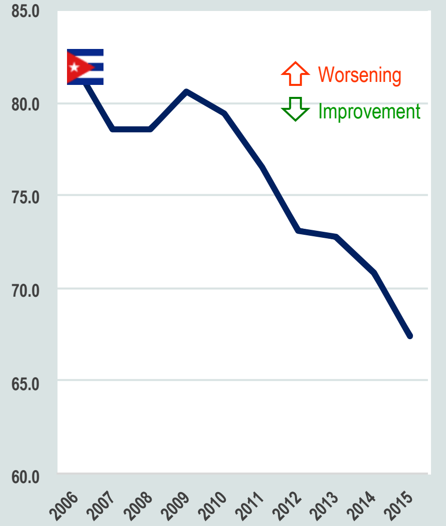
One of the driving forces behind Cuba's improvement has been the success of economic reforms over the past few years that have opened Cuba up to new foreign investment opportunities. In March 2014, Cuba began mending fences with the European Union and accepted foreign investment from Brazil to modernize a deep water port, which has the potential to become the largest in the Caribbean. And although according to the U.S.-Cuba Trade and Economic Council, 2014 had the lowest trading numbers between the U.S. and Cuba since 2004, the country's overall economic forecast continues to look positive as it reaches out to other foreign markets.

**Cuba: Select Indicators, 2006-2015**




For Cuba, led by Fidel Castro's younger brother President Raul Castro, the need to explore new diplomatic relations had also become an economic necessity. Since the U.S. embargo was enforced in 1961 and tightened further by Congress in 1996, Cuba's restricted economy has relied on subsidies from the Soviet Union and more recently Venezuela. However Venezuela's own fortunes took a turn in 2014, with its 2015 Index score worsening by 1.9 points, propelled by the slump in world oil prices. With oil accounting for 95 per cent of Venezuela's export earnings, its heavily subsidized oil exports to Cuba have come under increasing pressure.

**Cuba: Total Score, 2006-2015**




Recent developments may hamper progress slightly, driven by some U.S. Congressional opposition to further opening relations with Cuba. However this should not be confused or conflated with the sustained performance of Cuba over the past decade. Indeed, the nature of Cuba's recent improvement, somewhat irrespective of U.S. policy, suggests that this is a positive trend that will be difficult to reverse.

Overall, the combination of the opening of economic space with the normalization of diplomatic relations between the island and the U.S. will surely be trends to watch in the coming year to see whether Cuba not only continues to improve, but also capitalizes on its new connections for growth.

## South Africa: A City on a Hill?

Nate Haken

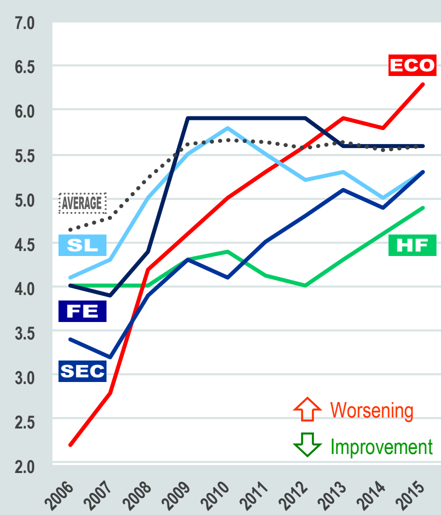
In 2008 and 2009, South Africa's Fragile States Index scores worsened significantly with a sharp recession and an outbreak of xenophobic violence killing dozens of foreigners. This year's Index score was not as bad. There were some challenges of course, such as electricity blackouts and a stuttering economy post-recession. But there were still high levels of approval for the government.

The ruling African National Congress (ANC) swept the general election despite allegations of corruption on the part of President Jacob Zuma. And externally, because of South Africa's achievements in many of the areas measured by the Index (especially human rights and economic opportunity) the country is perceived by many as truly representing a beacon of hope. Yet, over time pressures have been gradually rising.

For anywhere considered to be a city on the hill, when the economy is slow, immigration is always more contentious, whether you are in Durban or Arizona. In early 2015, violence broke out once again in Johannesburg and Durban, as mobs attacked immigrants, killing several and terrifying thousands. Worryingly, the government's response was to deploy the military to city streets, along with a marked reluctance of political leaders to quickly and decisively denounce not only the violence, but the divisive and inflammatory rhetoric by key people such as Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. This suggests that the core underlying causes of these societal fissures are far from being addressed, and may very well lead to violence and unrest again in the future.

This dynamic highlights just how important it is to have a methodology that tracks the social, economic, and political/security factors together. No indicator can be understood in isolation. Building sustainable peace requires an understanding of the wider system and a plan to influence it holistically.

**South Africa: Select Indicators, 2006-2015**



# Acropolis Wow: Greece Continues on a Slippery Slope

## Stable

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 57.8 | Antigua & Barbuda (127) | –1.2 |
| 51.6 | Bahamas (136) | –2.5 |
| 55.4 | Bulgaria (130) | +1.0 |
| 51.0 | Croatia (137) | –1.9 |
| 52.6 | Greece (134) | +0.5 |
| 57.5 | Kuwait (128) | +1.5 |
| 57.0 | Mongolia (129) | –1.1 |
| 54.2 | Montenegro (132) | –1.5 |
| 52.0 | Oman (135) | –1.1 |
| 54.6 | Panama (131) | –1.1 |
| 54.2 | Romania (132) | –2.7 |
| 58.7 | Trinidad & Tobago (126) | –2.6 |

Countries listed in alphabetical order.
Points change versus 2014 score.
Red arrows signify worsening year-on-year; green arrows signify improvement.

Sebastian Pavlou Graham

Frequently, attention tends to focus on countries at the most fragile end of the Fragile States Index, the inherent assumption being that perhaps those are the only countries we need worry about. But just as important as focusing upon – and actively addressing – the problems besetting countries at the worst end of the Index, note also needs to be taken of countries that, although perhaps finding themselves at the more stable end of the Index, are nevertheless constantly sliding.

Greece ranks as the 42nd most stable country on this year's Fragile States Index, having dropped three spots from 2014, registering a slight worsening of 0.5 points in its overall score since last year. While this puts Greece in the 25th percentile of the least fragile states on the Index, a closer look at the areas of decline offers a more accurate portrayal of the current threats to the nation's stability.

Those indicators where Greece displayed the highest degree of fragility were once again, and by far, State Legitimacy and Economic Decline. This is unsurprising, considering the ongoing government-debt crisis during which Greece has suffered five years of economic austerity and repeated rounds of large-scale protests driven by fierce anti-government sentiment. Greece was one of four European countries that needed to be rescued by sovereign bailout programs, wherein Greece was offered a series of bailout loans based on conditions mandating that in return for a €240 billion bailout and a partial write-down of the debt owed to private creditors, the Greek government would implement a broad range of de-regulation and privatization policies, including selling public assets, cutting social expenditure, reducing labor costs, and raising fiscal revenues.

While the center-left Syriza Party's victory in the January 2015 snap parliamentary elections temporarily quelled civil unrest, the rising political tension between the Syriza-led government and Greece's European creditors resulted in the Troika's suspension of the current bailout program pending negotiations on a new set of payment conditions. The unprecedented nature of these negotiations has renewed international concerns over whether Greece will strike a new deal with European creditors or default on its debts and potentially exit the Eurozone. Meanwhile, the imminent liquidity crisis for both the Greek government and Greek financial system has resulted in plummeting stock prices on the Athens Stock Exchange.

The so-called 'Greek Depression' has had substantial, wide-ranging impact in social, political and economic terms. While austerity has helped reduce Greece's primary deficit, the Greek economy has reportedly contracted by 6 per cent annually in nominal terms and by as much as 10 per cent after adjusting for inflation. GDP has diminished by over 25 per cent and wages have decreased as much as 33 per cent. Unemployment has trebled to 26 per cent and youth unemployment now stands at 50 per cent after peaking at 60 per cent last year. The government still has an outstanding debt of €330 billion and the debt-to-GDP ratio stands at 177 per cent. Between November 2014 and February 2015, Greek bank deposits

shrank by nearly 15 per cent of their total value, dropping to a 10-year low. Lower production has led to dismissals and the loss of thousands of jobs, further amplifying the recession.

In societal terms, the austerity measures implemented in Greece have had dire effects that have by-and-large reinforced the recession's adverse consequences on income distribution. Pensions have been drastically cut by up to 40 per cent and homelessness has increased by 25 per cent from 2009 to 2011 with the striking phenomenon of a new demographic of recently-homeless people that includes those with medium or higher educations. Suicides have increased since 2011, the most notable spike occurring in 2012 with a 35.5 per cent rise in registered cases. Drug prevention centers and psychiatric clinics have closed down due to budget cuts while public hospital funding has been cut by 25 per cent, further reducing access to health care services. These and many other factors led the international community to label the social situation in Greece a humanitarian crisis.

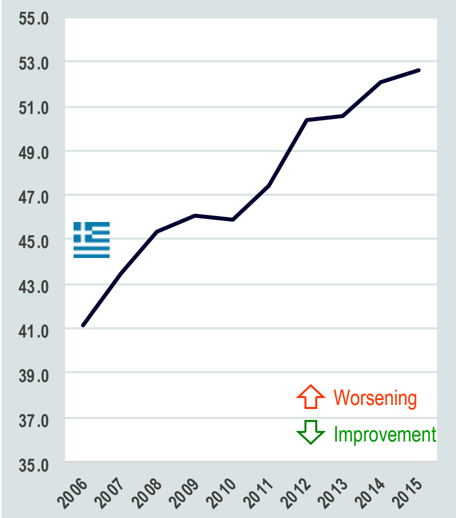
The past few years have also brought about the most significant upheaval in the Greek political system since the end of the military dictatorship in 1974. The deepening impact of the recession and the austerity measures adopted as part of the emergency rescue packages have created an overwhelming feeling of dissatisfaction and concern among Greek voters. The subsequent fragmentation of the traditional two-party system in Greece opened the door for smaller political parties. Furthermore, socio-economic disparities among EU member states, combined with a loss of national sovereignty (perceived or real), rapid marginalization, and rising immigration rates, has aggravated nationalist sentiments in Greece and paved the way for more radical political parties. Greece now has one of the largest organized neo-Nazi movements in Europe – 'the Golden Dawn.' In the 2015 legislative elections the Golden Dawn secured third place in the popular vote.

Looking forward, negotiations over the conditions for Greece's bailout are most likely to end with some degree of compromise both from the Greek government and lenders. A new deal would probably mean a new iteration of austerity for Greece and undoubtedly reignite public ire and civil unrest.

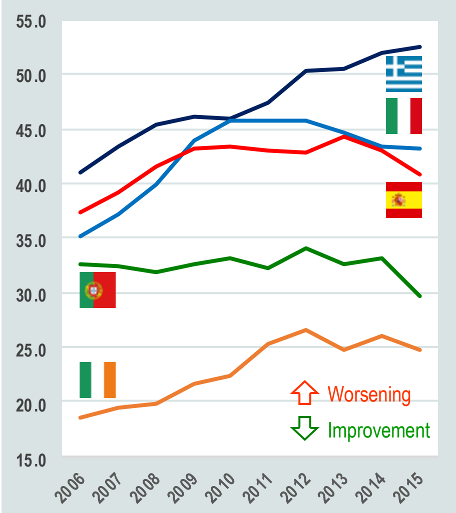
The country's current state of socio-political volatility and economic uncertainty demonstrates how a nation can rank among the first quartile of least fragile states in the Index, and yet still face critical challenges. Moreover, Greece finds itself at the heart of EU skepticism as member states grapple with asymmetrical recoveries to the 2008 financial crisis.

The fragility of the Greek state remains a crucial issue in the context of the stagnating Eurozone economy, with Greece's staggering economic decline, political upheaval, and rapid social degradation over the past few years are unparalleled in peacetime Europe.

**Greece: Total Score 2006-2015**




**Comparison Between Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, 2006-2015**



# Looking Beneath the Total Score: United States

## Very Stable

| Score | Country | Change |
|---|---|---|
| 47.6 | Argentina (141) | +0.3 |
| 49.3 | Barbados (138) | –2.1 |
| 41.5 | Chile (150) | –0.5 |
| 46.7 | Costa Rica (142) | –1.8 |
| 43.8 | Estonia (146) | –1.4 |
| 49.1 | Hungary (139) | +0.8 |
| 43.2 | Italy (147) | –0.2 |
| 48.6 | Latvia (140) | +0.6 |
| 43.0 | Lithuania (148) | –0.2 |
| 40.9 | Malta (151) | –2.1 |
| 45.2 | Mauritius (145) | –0.9 |
| 46.3 | Qatar (143) | –2.6 |
| 42.6 | Slovak Republic (149) | –2.7 |
| 40.9 | Spain (151) | –2.2 |
| 46.2 | United Arab Emirates (144) | –1.4 |

## Highly Stable

| Score | Country | Change |
|---|---|---|
| 30.4 | Belgium (163) | –1.6 |
| 37.4 | Czech Republic (154) | –2.0 |
| 33.7 | France (160) | –1.1 |
| 36.0 | Japan (157) | –0.3 |
| 39.8 | Poland (153) | –2.3 |
| 34.4 | Singapore (159) | –1.5 |
| 31.6 | Slovenia (162) | –1.0 |
| 36.3 | South Korea (156) | –0.1 |
| 33.4 | United Kingdom (161) | –0.9 |
| 35.3 | United States (158) | –0.1 |
| 36.5 | Uruguay (155) | –1.4 |

Nate Haken

As the United States heads into a heated political campaign season, candidates are beginning to frame their take on the social, economic, and political track the country is on and what they would do to calibrate those trajectories. Certainly, to listen to pundits you might suppose that the U.S. is either going to hell in a hand-basket or is the rock upon rests the salvation of the world.

The Fragile States Index is unlikely to resolve that debate. The overall Index score has hardly budged over the last half a dozen years, ranging from a low of 33.5 in calendar year 2012 (Highly Stable) to a high of 35.4 in calendar years 2013-2014 (also Highly Stable). The U.S. may well be reliably highly stable as the overall score suggests. Or the static nature of those total scores could be the product of an additive methodology where countries at either end of the index tend to stay there. Indeed, since calendar year 2005, the most fragile states have always been Sudan, South Sudan, or Somalia. At the other end of the Index, the most stable country has always been either Norway or Finland. Or, on the other hand, (as we would argue) maybe the world really is such that fragility begets fragility and stability, stability.

Either way, a disaggregation of the Index to its composite indicator scores tells a more nuanced story of rising group grievance and factionalized elites in the U.S., masked in the total score by an improving economy and public services.

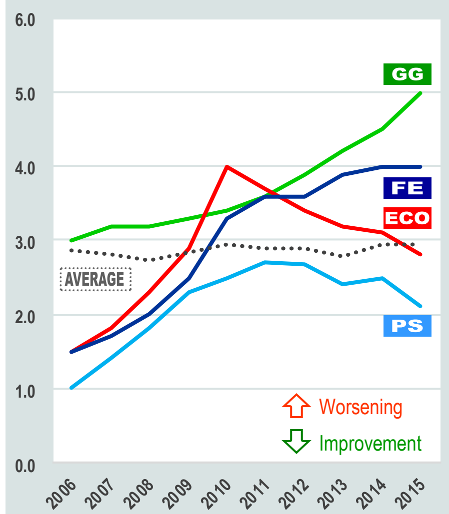
Group Grievance in the U.S. has increased every year since calendar year 2007. In 2014, an immigration crisis of undocumented children fleeing human insecurity in Central America became a polarizing political issue with competing street protests with ethnic and racial overtones. Meanwhile, protests over alleged police brutality against African Americans gathered steam with the deaths of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, and others. Unrest in Ferguson, Missouri was severe enough to result in the deployment of the National Guard in August while pictures and news stories of the protests and riots were broadcast around the globe. The very nature of the accusations and debate regarding the actions by law enforcement that sparked that unrest, with clear racial and socio-economic overtones, has also further contributed to increasing group-based societal fissures.

As often occurs when there is a rise in Group Grievance, the score for Factionalized Elites also increased over the last six years. The score peaked in calendar year 2013 with the government shutdown due to a disagreement over the Affordable Care Act and did not come back down in 2014. The 112th and 113th Congress (2011-2014) were the least productive sessions since before 1947 as measured by the number of bills passed into law, according to Brookings Institution's Vital Statistics on Congressional Data initiative.

On the positive side, the Economy continued to strengthen in 2014. Unemployment, which had peaked at 10 per cent in 2009, has been improving ever since and as of December 2014, was at 5.6 per cent. Public Services also improved in 2014, with the number of uninsured Americans dropping from 17.1 per cent to 12.9 per cent over the course of the year according to Gallup.

As the campaigns begin in earnest in the coming months, there will be many debates and disagreements about the reasons and implications for these trends. The Index does not answer the question of who is responsible for factionalization or grievance or which policies may have contributed to improvements in the economy or public services or whether those improvements meet reasonable targets of achievement. Those are for others to hash out. But the tool can help frame those discussions for constructive dialogue by stakeholders, especially if we do a better job of digging beneath the aggregate score and country ranking to look at indicator scores over time.

**United States of America: Select Indicators 2006-2015**




**United States of America: Total Score 2006-2015**




## European Countries Continue to be High Achievers

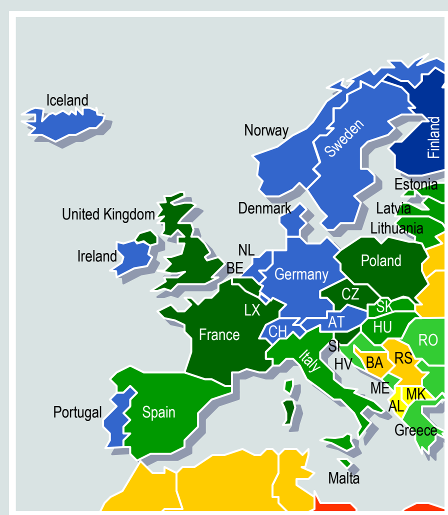
J.J. Messner

This year, we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II, and in doing so it is important to acknowledge just how far Europe has come in that time. Of the 15 Sustainable or Very Sustainable countries on the Fragile States Index, 12 are European. Expand that to include the More Stable category as well, and that ratio becomes 18 European countries out of 26. As Europe has integrated further and further, politically and economically (and, for anyone who has witnessed the Eurovision Song Contest, apparently culturally as well), the continent has become increasingly stable and sustainable. Indeed, all of those 18 European countries improved even further, year-on-year in 2015.

Further east, even despite conflict in the 1990s, three of the seven former Yugoslav states are among the seven most improved countries in the past decade in the world. With the exception of Hungary and Ukraine, every European country in the former Communist bloc has improved — many significantly — in the past decade. It is highly likely that much of this improvement has been helped by location, situated in a region of other stable countries where stability begets stability.

But the continuing Greek economic crisis, as well as the rise of far right parties in multiple European countries demonstrates that stability cannot be taken for granted. For now at least, it is worth recognizing the good news that the Fragile States Index can tell us.

**Europe: The Benefits of Good Neighbors**



# Sparkling Finnish: Sustainable Scandinavia

## Sustainable

| Score | Country (rank) | Change |
|---|---|---|
| 24.3 | Australia (170) | –2.0 |
| 26.0 | Austria (167) | –2.5 |
| 25.7 | Canada (168) | –1.7 |
| 21.5 | Denmark (175) | –1.3 |
| 28.1 | Germany (165) | –2.5 |
| 23.4 | Iceland (171) | –2.5 |
| 24.7 | Ireland (169) | –1.4 |
| 22.2 | Luxembourg (174) | –2.4 |
| 26.8 | Netherlands (166) | –1.8 |
| 22.6 | New Zealand (172) | –1.5 |
| 20.8 | Norway (176) | –2.2 |
| 29.7 | Portugal (164) | –3.4 |
| 20.2 | Sweden (177) | –1.2 |
| 22.3 | Switzerland (173) | –1.0 |

## Very Sustainable

| Score | Country (rank) | Change |
|---|---|---|
| 17.8 | Finland (178) | –0.9 |

Countries listed in alphabetical order.
Points change versus 2014 score.
Red arrows signify worsening year-on-year; green arrows signify improvement.

Hannah Blyth

Every year, the most stable end of the Fragile States Index appears to tell a familiar story. Since the Fund for Peace began assessing all major countries in 2006, Scandinavia has held a near-monopoly on the least fragile end of the Index.

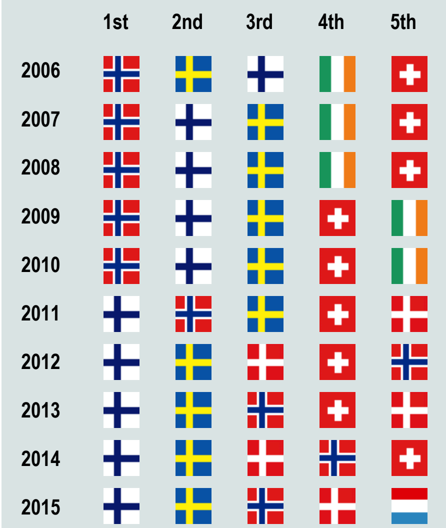
It comes as no surprise that once again, 2015 saw the four main Nordic countries come away with the best Index scores. The Nordic Model has garnered praise over the past two decades for its unique mix of social welfare and economic efficiency. This benchmark of a happy, healthy and productive populace amongst Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, has proven not only to work, but is sustainable.

Despite many misconceptions about the Scandinavian big-spending socialist welfare state, the Nordic countries have long ago left behind their high public spending and taxation rates of the 1970s and 1980s. They have now emerged in the twenty-first century as lean, green innovators and entrepreneurs with low budget deficits and corporate tax rates well below those of the United States. The Nordic states enjoy high levels of transparency within public institutions and government, with their Index scores for State Legitimacy, Human Rights and Factionalized Elites all remaining impressively low. Finland for example, received high praise from the International Monetary Fund in its 2015 Fiscal Transparency Evaluation, while Sweden continues to pride itself on its long standing legacy of granting public access to office documents under the Freedom of the Press Act. Social equality, high female workface participation, robust functioning democratic institutions and press freedom are just a few more commonalities which have helped the Nordic four remain some of the least fragile countries.

However in spite of this high praise, as we look beyond 2015 the Nordic states must avoid the trappings of Group Grievance. The rise of ultra-nationalist right party politics in Europe – including the anti-immigration Sweden Democrats, the country's third largest party – has the potential to undermine the egalitarian social fabric of the Scandinavian countries. If the Nordic four are to remain the celebrated models of state sustainability, they must ensure their model of inclusive and prosperous stable society remains open to all.

### Some Very Cross Countries: Rankings of Least Fragile Countries

Rankings of the least fragile countries, 2006-2015



# Fragile States Index 2015: Country Indicator Scores



Rankings in order of fragility and risk

| Rank | Country | DP | REF | GG | HF | UED | ECO | SL | PS | HR | SEC | FE | EXT | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8th | Afghanistan | 9.3 | 9.1 | 8.9 | 8.1 | 7.2 | 8.6 | 9.7 | 9.3 | 8.6 | 10.0 | 9.3 | 9.8 | **107.9** |
| 125th | Albania | 4.1 | 3.1 | 5.0 | 7.1 | 4.2 | 5.2 | 6.2 | 4.5 | 5.5 | 4.7 | 6.2 | 6.1 | **61.9** |
| 67th | Algeria | 5.7 | 6.4 | 8.2 | 5.1 | 6.0 | 6.4 | 7.8 | 5.8 | 7.1 | 8.0 | 7.7 | 5.4 | **79.6** |
| 42nd | Angola | 8.7 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 6.0 | 9.6 | 5.6 | 8.3 | 8.9 | 7.3 | 6.0 | 7.2 | 5.6 | **88.1** |
| 127th | Antigua and Barbuda | 4.6 | 3.0 | 3.9 | 7.3 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.9 | 3.9 | 4.5 | 5.2 | 3.7 | 5.8 | **57.8** |
| 141st | Argentina | 3.8 | 2.0 | 5.0 | 3.0 | 5.4 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 4.3 | 4.1 | 3.6 | 2.8 | 4.0 | **47.6** |
| 108th | Armenia | 3.6 | 7.0 | 5.4 | 6.0 | 5.0 | 6.0 | 7.0 | 4.1 | 6.5 | 5.3 | 7.0 | 6.8 | **69.7** |
| 170th | Australia | 1.8 | 2.1 | 4.4 | 1.0 | 2.7 | 2.1 | 1.1 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 1.0 | **24.3** |
| 167th | Austria | 2.4 | 2.0 | 4.3 | 1.5 | 3.4 | 2.2 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.1 | 2.7 | 1.7 | **26.0** |
| 80th | Azerbaijan | 5.1 | 7.6 | 6.4 | 4.3 | 5.9 | 4.1 | 8.6 | 5.4 | 8.4 | 6.7 | 7.9 | 6.9 | **77.3** |
| 136th | Bahamas | 6.1 | 2.8 | 4.1 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 4.7 | 4.3 | 4.4 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 3.7 | **51.6** |
| 119th | Bahrain | 4.6 | 2.6 | 7.7 | 3.5 | 5.1 | 3.2 | 8.4 | 2.3 | 7.8 | 6.7 | 7.1 | 5.3 | **64.3** |
| 32nd | Bangladesh | 8.1 | 6.6 | 8.4 | 7.5 | 7.2 | 6.7 | 8.5 | 8.1 | 7.7 | 7.7 | 9.6 | 5.7 | **91.8** |
| 138th | Barbados | 3.8 | 2.7 | 4.1 | 5.4 | 5.1 | 5.7 | 3.0 | 2.7 | 2.9 | 4.3 | 4.2 | 5.4 | **49.3** |
| 87th | Belarus | 5.6 | 4.1 | 6.8 | 3.4 | 5.2 | 6.1 | 8.6 | 4.7 | 8.4 | 6.6 | 8.3 | 7.8 | **75.6** |
| 163rd | Belgium | 2.5 | 1.6 | 4.1 | 1.9 | 3.2 | 4.5 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 2.0 | 3.9 | 1.5 | **30.4** |
| 116th | Belize | 5.9 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 6.5 | 6.2 | 5.9 | 5.7 | 5.8 | 4.1 | 5.8 | 4.3 | 6.9 | **65.3** |
| 73rd | Benin | 8.2 | 6.0 | 3.9 | 6.8 | 7.5 | 6.6 | 6.2 | 8.6 | 5.6 | 6.2 | 6.1 | 7.1 | **78.8** |
| 74th | Bhutan | 6.0 | 6.9 | 7.9 | 6.8 | 6.9 | 5.7 | 5.0 | 6.6 | 6.5 | 5.0 | 7.5 | 7.9 | **78.7** |
| 76th | Bolivia | 6.7 | 3.8 | 6.5 | 6.4 | 8.6 | 5.4 | 7.0 | 6.9 | 5.9 | 6.6 | 8.0 | 6.2 | **78.0** |
| 78th | Bosnia | 6.1 | 7.3 | 7.1 | 5.5 | 5.6 | 5.8 | 7.0 | 4.1 | 5.8 | 6.2 | 8.7 | 8.2 | **77.4** |
| 122nd | Botswana | 7.5 | 5.2 | 5.4 | 5.1 | 7.7 | 6.3 | 3.8 | 6.0 | 4.4 | 3.5 | 3.3 | 4.6 | **62.8** |
| 123rd | Brazil | 7.6 | 3.1 | 5.9 | 4.1 | 7.7 | 3.9 | 5.1 | 5.9 | 5.8 | 5.9 | 4.9 | 2.7 | **62.6** |
| 121st | Brunei | 4.2 | 2.7 | 5.9 | 4.6 | 7.8 | 2.8 | 8.0 | 2.2 | 7.7 | 5.6 | 7.4 | 4.1 | **63.0** |
| 130th | Bulgaria | 4.2 | 3.5 | 5.2 | 4.6 | 4.9 | 6.2 | 5.0 | 4.2 | 3.4 | 4.1 | 5.3 | 4.8 | **55.4** |
| 39th | Burkina Faso | 9.1 | 7.1 | 5.0 | 6.9 | 8.1 | 7.1 | 8.1 | 8.9 | 6.2 | 7.4 | 7.8 | 7.5 | **89.2** |
| 18th | Burundi | 9.2 | 9.0 | 8.0 | 6.8 | 7.7 | 8.5 | 8.4 | 8.3 | 8.2 | 7.7 | 7.9 | 8.4 | **98.1** |
| 42nd | Cambodia | 7.0 | 5.8 | 7.4 | 7.5 | 7.1 | 6.4 | 8.4 | 7.7 | 8.3 | 6.7 | 8.2 | 7.4 | **87.9** |
| 28th | Cameroon | 8.0 | 7.8 | 8.1 | 7.5 | 7.8 | 6.2 | 8.4 | 8.8 | 8.0 | 7.6 | 9.1 | 7.0 | **94.3** |
| 168th | Canada | 2.4 | 2.0 | 3.9 | 2.2 | 3.0 | 1.8 | 0.9 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 1.0 | **25.7** |
| 94th | Cape Verde | 7.1 | 4.1 | 4.0 | 8.6 | 7.5 | 6.2 | 5.7 | 6.5 | 4.5 | 5.7 | 5.5 | 8.1 | **73.5** |
| 3rd | Central African Republic | 8.4 | 10.0 | 9.6 | 6.9 | 9.7 | 8.3 | 9.5 | 9.9 | 10.0 | 9.8 | 10.0 | 9.8 | **111.9** |
| 6th | Chad | 9.7 | 10.0 | 8.2 | 8.6 | 9.1 | 7.8 | 9.3 | 9.7 | 9.4 | 8.8 | 9.5 | 8.3 | **108.4** |
| 150th | Chile | 5.1 | 2.1 | 4.1 | 3.2 | 5.1 | 3.6 | 3.0 | 4.5 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 1.7 | 2.6 | **41.5** |
| 83rd | China | 7.4 | 5.6 | 8.3 | 4.6 | 7.4 | 3.4 | 8.0 | 6.2 | 9.2 | 5.9 | 7.2 | 3.2 | **76.4** |
| 61st | Colombia | 6.9 | 7.8 | 8.0 | 6.7 | 7.5 | 3.8 | 7.1 | 6.0 | 7.3 | 7.3 | 7.6 | 6.5 | **82.5** |
| 59th | Comoros | 7.6 | 4.5 | 5.0 | 7.8 | 7.0 | 8.0 | 6.8 | 8.0 | 6.1 | 7.2 | 7.5 | 7.8 | **83.3** |
| 5th | Congo (Democratic Republic) | 9.5 | 9.4 | 9.5 | 7.1 | 8.8 | 7.9 | 9.0 | 9.7 | 10.0 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 9.8 | **109.7** |
| 33rd | Congo (Republic) | 7.8 | 8.3 | 6.6 | 6.8 | 8.2 | 6.4 | 8.7 | 9.1 | 7.9 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 7.6 | **90.8** |
| 142nd | Costa Rica | 4.1 | 3.9 | 4.7 | 3.5 | 5.5 | 4.3 | 2.9 | 4.5 | 2.1 | 3.1 | 3.8 | 4.3 | **46.7** |
| 15th | Cote d'Ivoire | 8.1 | 9.0 | 8.7 | 6.7 | 7.9 | 7.1 | 8.5 | 9.0 | 7.9 | 8.3 | 9.1 | 9.7 | **100.0** |
| 137th | Croatia | 3.6 | 4.9 | 5.7 | 4.5 | 3.8 | 5.3 | 3.4 | 2.9 | 4.1 | 4.0 | 4.4 | 4.4 | **51.0** |
| 112nd | Cuba | 5.6 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 5.7 | 5.9 | 4.5 | 7.0 | 4.7 | 7.3 | 5.7 | 7.0 | 5.0 | **67.4** |
| 114th | Cyprus | 4.0 | 4.5 | 7.0 | 4.5 | 6.4 | 6.7 | 5.3 | 3.0 | 3.3 | 4.4 | 7.9 | 9.2 | **66.2** |
| 154th | Czech Republic | 1.9 | 2.0 | 3.8 | 2.8 | 3.2 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 3.1 | 2.1 | 2.6 | 4.3 | 2.6 | **37.4** |

# A-Z Country Scores by Indicator

Rankings in order of fragility and risk

| Rank | Country | DP | REF | GG | HF | UED | ECO | SL | PS | HR | SEC | FE | EXT | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 175th | Denmark | 2.5 | 1.4 | 3.6 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.4 | **21.5** |
| 41st | Djibouti | 8.2 | 7.1 | 6.6 | 5.8 | 7.8 | 7.4 | 7.6 | 7.8 | 7.2 | 6.9 | 7.3 | 8.4 | **88.1** |
| 104th | Dominican Republic | 6.8 | 3.8 | 5.8 | 7.6 | 6.3 | 5.3 | 6.0 | 6.8 | 5.5 | 5.2 | 6.2 | 5.9 | **71.2** |
| 85th | Ecuador | 5.7 | 5.2 | 7.8 | 6.2 | 6.8 | 5.3 | 7.0 | 6.3 | 5.1 | 6.7 | 8.2 | 5.6 | **75.9** |
| 38th | Egypt | 7.1 | 6.7 | 8.7 | 4.7 | 6.5 | 8.1 | 8.7 | 5.4 | 9.8 | 8.2 | 9.0 | 7.1 | **90.0** |
| 102nd | El Salvador | 6.9 | 5.1 | 6.3 | 6.9 | 6.6 | 5.9 | 4.8 | 6.7 | 6.1 | 6.5 | 4.3 | 5.3 | **71.4** |
| 54th | Equatorial Guinea | 7.7 | 3.3 | 6.3 | 6.0 | 9.0 | 5.2 | 9.8 | 7.1 | 9.7 | 7.0 | 8.2 | 5.5 | **84.8** |
| 24th | Eritrea | 8.8 | 7.8 | 6.1 | 7.6 | 7.2 | 8.3 | 9.1 | 8.7 | 9.3 | 7.7 | 8.1 | 8.2 | **96.9** |
| 146th | Estonia | 3.3 | 2.9 | 6.5 | 3.5 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 3.2 | 3.4 | 2.0 | 3.1 | 5.5 | 3.1 | **43.8** |
| 20th | Ethiopia | 9.2 | 9.4 | 8.5 | 7.0 | 7.1 | 6.9 | 7.4 | 8.6 | 8.5 | 8.4 | 8.6 | 7.9 | **97.5** |
| 82nd | Fiji | 4.7 | 3.4 | 7.0 | 7.6 | 6.8 | 6.7 | 7.4 | 4.5 | 6.9 | 6.7 | 7.9 | 7.2 | **76.8** |
| 178th | Finland | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 2.3 | 1.0 | 3.8 | 0.5 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 1.0 | **17.8** |
| 160th | France | 2.8 | 2.2 | 6.8 | 2.2 | 3.7 | 4.8 | 1.8 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 1.4 | **33.7** |
| 104th | Gabon | 7.1 | 5.0 | 3.7 | 5.5 | 6.9 | 4.8 | 7.4 | 6.8 | 6.9 | 5.0 | 7.1 | 5.1 | **71.3** |
| 51st | Gambia | 8.2 | 6.4 | 3.7 | 7.7 | 7.2 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 7.7 | 8.6 | 6.0 | 6.8 | 7.5 | **85.4** |
| 70th | Georgia | 3.9 | 7.4 | 7.8 | 5.4 | 5.9 | 5.8 | 8.8 | 4.8 | 5.8 | 7.3 | 9.1 | 7.3 | **79.3** |
| 165th | Germany | 2.5 | 3.0 | 4.6 | 2.1 | 3.3 | 2.9 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 1.3 | **28.1** |
| 100th | Ghana | 7.1 | 5.5 | 4.6 | 7.6 | 7.1 | 6.3 | 5.0 | 7.9 | 5.2 | 4.1 | 4.9 | 6.6 | **71.9** |
| 134th | Greece | 3.6 | 1.6 | 5.0 | 3.8 | 4.2 | 6.5 | 6.5 | 3.9 | 3.4 | 4.5 | 3.7 | 5.9 | **52.6** |
| 120th | Grenada | 5.2 | 3.2 | 3.8 | 8.4 | 5.3 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 5.6 | 5.6 | 7.1 | **63.4** |
| 64th | Guatemala | 7.3 | 5.5 | 7.9 | 6.7 | 8.0 | 6.0 | 6.6 | 7.4 | 6.6 | 7.0 | 6.0 | 5.4 | **80.4** |
| 10th | Guinea | 9.0 | 8.7 | 8.7 | 7.2 | 7.6 | 9.2 | 9.9 | 9.8 | 8.2 | 8.9 | 9.6 | 8.1 | **104.9** |
| 17th | Guinea Bissau | 8.2 | 7.8 | 5.7 | 8.5 | 8.4 | 8.7 | 9.0 | 9.2 | 7.2 | 8.8 | 9.6 | 8.8 | **99.9** |
| 107th | Guyana | 5.6 | 3.6 | 6.5 | 9.1 | 6.2 | 6.2 | 5.9 | 6.1 | 3.9 | 5.8 | 5.1 | 6.5 | **70.5** |
| 11th | Haiti | 9.5 | 8.2 | 6.7 | 9.3 | 9.3 | 9.1 | 9.4 | 9.1 | 7.4 | 7.5 | 9.1 | 9.9 | **104.5** |
| 76th | Honduras | 6.8 | 3.7 | 6.4 | 6.9 | 7.7 | 6.3 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 6.3 | 6.7 | 6.6 | 7.4 | **78.2** |
| 139th | Hungary | 2.3 | 2.5 | 4.7 | 3.3 | 4.3 | 5.9 | 6.6 | 3.3 | 4.5 | 2.4 | 5.3 | 4.0 | **49.1** |
| 171st | Iceland | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 2.8 | 1.6 | 3.6 | 0.9 | 1.7 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.8 | 4.6 | **23.4** |
| 69th | India | 8.0 | 5.4 | 8.3 | 5.5 | 7.5 | 5.6 | 5.2 | 7.5 | 5.9 | 7.9 | 7.3 | 5.3 | **79.4** |
| 88th | Indonesia | 7.1 | 5.9 | 7.3 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 5.2 | 5.6 | 6.0 | 6.8 | 6.2 | 7.0 | 5.3 | **75.0** |
| 44th | Iran | 5.4 | 6.5 | 8.5 | 6.2 | 6.1 | 6.9 | 8.9 | 5.0 | 9.3 | 8.0 | 9.4 | 7.0 | **87.2** |
| 12th | Iraq | 8.2 | 8.9 | 10.0 | 8.1 | 7.8 | 6.9 | 9.2 | 7.5 | 8.9 | 10.0 | 9.6 | 9.4 | **104.5** |
| 169th | Ireland | 2.2 | 1.4 | 1.9 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 4.1 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 1.9 | **24.7** |
| 68th | Israel/West Bank | 6.0 | 7.4 | 9.7 | 3.8 | 6.9 | 3.9 | 6.3 | 5.3 | 7.4 | 7.0 | 8.1 | 7.6 | **79.4** |
| 147th | Italy | 3.1 | 3.7 | 4.9 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 5.6 | 4.2 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 4.4 | 4.9 | 2.2 | **43.2** |
| 117th | Jamaica | 5.2 | 3.0 | 3.9 | 7.8 | 5.9 | 7.1 | 5.3 | 5.8 | 4.9 | 6.3 | 3.7 | 5.7 | **64.6** |
| 157th | Japan | 4.8 | 3.1 | 4.2 | 2.6 | 1.9 | 4.6 | 1.7 | 2.1 | 3.4 | 1.4 | 2.6 | 3.6 | **36.0** |
| 81st | Jordan | 7.0 | 8.8 | 7.7 | 3.6 | 5.9 | 6.3 | 6.1 | 4.7 | 7.6 | 5.5 | 6.9 | 6.8 | **76.9** |
| 110th | Kazakhstan | 5.0 | 3.5 | 7.0 | 3.6 | 4.7 | 6.5 | 8.0 | 4.5 | 7.5 | 5.7 | 7.6 | 4.7 | **68.3** |
| 21st | Kenya | 9.0 | 8.3 | 9.0 | 7.5 | 8.3 | 7.5 | 8.1 | 7.9 | 6.5 | 8.4 | 8.9 | 8.0 | **97.4** |
| 128th | Kuwait | 5.1 | 4.0 | 4.7 | 3.1 | 4.7 | 3.0 | 7.3 | 2.5 | 7.3 | 3.9 | 7.5 | 4.4 | **57.5** |
| 62nd | Kyrgyz Republic | 5.9 | 5.8 | 8.4 | 6.4 | 6.4 | 7.0 | 7.8 | 5.6 | 7.2 | 6.8 | 8.0 | 6.9 | **82.2** |
| 55th | Laos | 7.1 | 5.6 | 6.3 | 7.4 | 6.9 | 5.5 | 9.0 | 7.7 | 8.1 | 6.0 | 8.3 | 6.6 | **84.5** |
| 140th | Latvia | 3.4 | 2.9 | 7.4 | 4.4 | 4.6 | 4.0 | 3.9 | 3.4 | 3.0 | 3.5 | 4.3 | 3.8 | **48.6** |
| 40th | Lebanon | 5.7 | 9.1 | 8.6 | 5.4 | 5.7 | 5.9 | 7.8 | 5.4 | 7.2 | 8.8 | 9.3 | 9.2 | **88.1** |



| Rankings in order of fragility and risk | | DP | REF | GG | HF | UED | ECO | SL | PS | HR | SEC | FE | EXT | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 66th | Lesotho | 7.7 | 4.9 | 4.4 | 7.4 | 7.3 | 8.3 | 6.4 | 8.0 | 4.8 | 5.6 | 7.3 | 7.8 | **79.9** |
| 21st | Liberia | 9.5 | 9.2 | 6.2 | 6.6 | 8.3 | 8.6 | 7.3 | 9.7 | 6.7 | 6.9 | 8.3 | 10.0 | **97.3** |
| 25th | Libya | 5.4 | 7.4 | 7.8 | 6.4 | 6.1 | 8.0 | 9.8 | 7.5 | 9.0 | 9.3 | 9.1 | 9.5 | **95.3** |
| 148th | Lithuania | 3.3 | 2.6 | 4.3 | 4.2 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 3.2 | 4.0 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 3.0 | **43.0** |
| 174th | Luxembourg | 1.7 | 1.7 | 3.1 | 2.1 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 1.6 | **22.2** |
| 118th | Macedonia | 3.3 | 5.3 | 7.0 | 5.5 | 5.6 | 5.7 | 5.5 | 4.4 | 3.9 | 5.4 | 7.0 | 5.9 | **64.5** |
| 56th | Madagascar | 8.5 | 3.9 | 4.6 | 6.1 | 8.5 | 7.6 | 7.2 | 9.1 | 6.1 | 7.1 | 7.6 | 7.3 | **83.6** |
| 44th | Malawi | 8.8 | 6.1 | 5.4 | 8.1 | 8.4 | 8.6 | 6.9 | 7.8 | 6.2 | 4.8 | 7.7 | 8.1 | **86.9** |
| 115th | Malaysia | 5.8 | 4.2 | 6.2 | 4.5 | 5.3 | 3.6 | 6.9 | 4.7 | 7.2 | 6.8 | 6.5 | 4.2 | **65.9** |
| 91st | Maldives | 5.8 | 4.7 | 4.6 | 5.6 | 4.1 | 6.4 | 8.5 | 6.1 | 7.5 | 6.1 | 7.8 | 7.0 | **74.2** |
| 30th | Mali | 9.1 | 7.8 | 7.6 | 8.4 | 7.4 | 8.2 | 6.0 | 9.0 | 6.7 | 8.7 | 4.9 | 9.3 | **93.1** |
| 151st | Malta | 2.8 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 4.0 | 2.9 | 4.2 | 3.9 | 2.3 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 2.0 | 3.6 | **40.9** |
| 26th | Mauritania | 8.6 | 8.5 | 6.9 | 6.3 | 7.1 | 8.0 | 7.9 | 8.9 | 8.0 | 7.4 | 8.8 | 8.5 | **94.9** |
| 145th | Mauritius | 4.1 | 2.2 | 3.8 | 4.2 | 4.3 | 4.7 | 3.5 | 3.8 | 3.4 | 2.8 | 3.2 | 5.2 | **45.2** |
| 99th | Mexico | 6.2 | 4.4 | 6.4 | 5.8 | 6.6 | 4.6 | 5.9 | 6.8 | 6.5 | 8.0 | 5.1 | 5.5 | **71.8** |
| 94th | Micronesia | 7.1 | 3.2 | 4.0 | 9.0 | 8.4 | 8.1 | 6.0 | 5.7 | 3.1 | 5.1 | 5.6 | 8.3 | **73.6** |
| 96th | Moldova | 5.3 | 4.4 | 6.5 | 6.4 | 5.3 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 5.4 | 5.4 | 6.6 | 7.8 | 7.3 | **73.0** |
| 129th | Mongolia | 5.5 | 2.4 | 4.3 | 3.1 | 6.4 | 4.3 | 4.5 | 5.7 | 4.8 | 4.0 | 5.5 | 6.5 | **57.0** |
| 132nd | Montenegro | 3.3 | 4.5 | 7.3 | 3.6 | 2.9 | 4.6 | 4.0 | 3.6 | 4.2 | 4.0 | 6.3 | 5.9 | **54.2** |
| 89th | Morocco | 5.5 | 5.3 | 7.1 | 7.6 | 6.3 | 5.3 | 6.5 | 5.7 | 7.0 | 5.7 | 6.6 | 6.0 | **74.6** |
| 46th | Mozambique | 8.7 | 5.0 | 5.9 | 7.4 | 8.6 | 7.8 | 7.2 | 9.0 | 6.1 | 7.0 | 6.9 | 7.3 | **86.9** |
| 27th | Myanmar | 6.8 | 8.3 | 9.7 | 5.7 | 8.2 | 6.5 | 9.0 | 8.6 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 7.0 | **94.7** |
| 106th | Namibia | 7.0 | 5.5 | 5.9 | 6.5 | 8.1 | 7.1 | 3.8 | 7.3 | 4.3 | 4.9 | 3.5 | 6.9 | **70.8** |
| 35th | Nepal | 7.9 | 7.6 | 9.1 | 7.0 | 7.5 | 6.8 | 7.1 | 7.1 | 7.7 | 7.0 | 8.3 | 7.4 | **90.5** |
| 166th | Netherlands | 3.0 | 2.1 | 3.9 | 2.6 | 2.7 | 3.4 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 1.2 | **26.8** |
| 172nd | New Zealand | 1.9 | 1.1 | 4.1 | 2.1 | 2.8 | 3.9 | 0.5 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.1 | **22.6** |
| 72nd | Nicaragua | 6.2 | 4.6 | 6.5 | 8.1 | 7.9 | 6.2 | 7.3 | 7.2 | 5.3 | 5.6 | 6.8 | 7.3 | **79.0** |
| 19th | Niger | 9.6 | 7.9 | 7.5 | 6.9 | 8.4 | 8.2 | 7.5 | 9.3 | 6.8 | 8.7 | 8.9 | 8.1 | **97.8** |
| 14th | Nigeria | 8.8 | 7.5 | 9.9 | 7.1 | 8.8 | 7.6 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 8.8 | 9.9 | 9.8 | 6.0 | **102.4** |
| 29th | North Korea | 7.5 | 4.3 | 6.3 | 4.2 | 8.0 | 9.0 | 10.0 | 8.9 | 9.7 | 8.6 | 8.5 | 8.8 | **93.8** |
| 176th | Norway | 2.0 | 1.9 | 3.7 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 0.4 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 2.5 | 1.1 | 1.2 | **20.8** |
| 135th | Oman | 5.0 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 1.9 | 4.2 | 4.5 | 6.6 | 3.8 | 7.5 | 4.7 | 6.6 | 2.2 | **52.0** |
| 13th | Pakistan | 9.0 | 8.9 | 10.0 | 7.0 | 7.3 | 7.7 | 8.6 | 7.9 | 8.4 | 9.6 | 9.2 | 9.3 | **102.9** |
| 131st | Panama | 5.7 | 3.5 | 5.6 | 4.0 | 7.3 | 3.4 | 4.0 | 5.5 | 4.8 | 5.1 | 2.5 | 3.2 | **54.6** |
| 57th | Papua New Guinea | 7.3 | 4.6 | 6.3 | 7.1 | 9.0 | 6.2 | 6.9 | 8.7 | 6.6 | 6.9 | 7.1 | 6.7 | **83.4** |
| 103rd | Paraguay | 5.9 | 2.2 | 5.9 | 5.2 | 8.4 | 5.1 | 7.1 | 6.7 | 6.1 | 6.5 | 7.8 | 4.4 | **71.3** |
| 98th | Peru | 5.3 | 4.8 | 7.5 | 6.7 | 7.3 | 3.7 | 7.1 | 7.1 | 4.6 | 7.1 | 6.7 | 4.0 | **71.9** |
| 48th | Philippines | 8.2 | 7.4 | 8.3 | 6.2 | 6.2 | 6.0 | 7.5 | 7.2 | 5.9 | 9.1 | 8.0 | 6.3 | **86.3** |
| 153rd | Poland | 3.3 | 2.8 | 4.4 | 4.4 | 3.5 | 4.1 | 3.2 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.8 | 2.7 | **39.8** |
| 164th | Portugal | 2.6 | 1.6 | 2.6 | 2.2 | 2.9 | 5.1 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 2.3 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | **29.7** |
| 143rd | Qatar | 4.3 | 1.8 | 4.6 | 3.1 | 5.2 | 2.6 | 6.0 | 1.8 | 6.2 | 2.5 | 5.0 | 3.2 | **46.3** |
| 132nd | Romania | 3.7 | 2.7 | 6.8 | 4.5 | 4.7 | 5.2 | 5.6 | 4.3 | 3.9 | 3.5 | 5.2 | 4.1 | **54.2** |
| 65th | Russia | 5.1 | 5.7 | 9.3 | 4.5 | 6.4 | 4.4 | 7.9 | 4.7 | 8.9 | 9.1 | 8.1 | 5.9 | **80.0** |
| 37th | Rwanda | 8.0 | 7.9 | 8.8 | 7.5 | 8.2 | 6.3 | 6.5 | 7.3 | 7.7 | 6.2 | 8.0 | 7.8 | **90.2** |
| 111th | Samoa | 6.2 | 2.1 | 4.5 | 8.9 | 5.4 | 6.5 | 6.2 | 5.0 | 4.5 | 5.2 | 5.1 | 8.6 | **68.2** |

# A-Z Country Scores by Indicator

Rankings in order of fragility and risk

| Rank | Country | DP | REF | GG | HF | UED | ECO | SL | PS | HR | SEC | FE | EXT | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 93rd | Sao Tome & Principe | 6.7 | 4.3 | 4.5 | 7.9 | 6.5 | 8.4 | 6.1 | 5.8 | 3.8 | 5.5 | 6.3 | 7.9 | **73.7** |
| 101st | Saudi Arabia | 5.8 | 4.6 | 7.4 | 3.7 | 5.8 | 4.4 | 7.8 | 3.7 | 9.2 | 6.4 | 8.0 | 4.8 | **71.6** |
| 60th | Senegal | 8.0 | 7.8 | 6.3 | 7.4 | 7.3 | 7.3 | 5.5 | 7.9 | 6.2 | 6.2 | 6.6 | 6.5 | **83.0** |
| 92nd | Serbia | 5.5 | 7.0 | 8.1 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 6.7 | 5.7 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 6.0 | 8.0 | 6.6 | **73.8** |
| 124th | Seychelles | 5.1 | 3.1 | 4.5 | 5.5 | 6.0 | 4.6 | 5.7 | 3.2 | 4.6 | 6.6 | 5.7 | 7.5 | **62.1** |
| 31st | Sierra Leone | 9.5 | 8.2 | 6.2 | 8.4 | 8.8 | 8.7 | 6.9 | 9.3 | 5.6 | 4.8 | 7.7 | 7.8 | **91.9** |
| 159th | Singapore | 2.9 | 1.1 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 2.5 | 3.8 | 1.8 | 4.6 | 1.6 | 4.0 | 1.7 | **34.4** |
| 149th | Slovak Republic | 2.8 | 2.0 | 5.9 | 4.2 | 4.0 | 5.1 | 3.7 | 2.9 | 2.7 | 2.3 | 3.7 | 3.3 | **42.6** |
| 162nd | Slovenia | 2.8 | 1.4 | 3.9 | 2.8 | 3.9 | 4.2 | 2.6 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 2.3 | **31.6** |
| 50th | Solomon Islands | 8.5 | 4.9 | 6.5 | 6.3 | 8.9 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 7.6 | 5.7 | 6.4 | 8.2 | 8.0 | **85.9** |
| 2nd | Somalia | 9.6 | 9.8 | 9.5 | 9.2 | 9.0 | 9.1 | 9.3 | 9.3 | 10.0 | 9.7 | 10.0 | 9.5 | **114.0** |
| 113th | South Africa | 7.0 | 5.9 | 5.5 | 4.9 | 7.4 | 6.3 | 5.3 | 6.4 | 4.3 | 5.3 | 5.6 | 3.1 | **67.0** |
| 156th | South Korea | 2.8 | 1.5 | 3.4 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 2.0 | 3.3 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.1 | 3.8 | 5.4 | **36.3** |
| 1st | South Sudan | 9.8 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 6.9 | 8.8 | 9.0 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 10.0 | **114.5** |
| 151st | Spain | 2.5 | 1.7 | 5.8 | 2.4 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 3.3 | 2.7 | 1.9 | 3.3 | 6.1 | 2.2 | **40.9** |
| 34th | Sri Lanka | 6.0 | 8.2 | 9.3 | 7.8 | 7.6 | 5.9 | 8.0 | 5.6 | 8.8 | 7.9 | 9.1 | 6.4 | **90.6** |
| 4th | Sudan | 8.7 | 10.0 | 9.7 | 8.8 | 7.9 | 8.6 | 9.6 | 8.8 | 9.6 | 9.5 | 9.8 | 9.8 | **110.8** |
| 109th | Suriname | 5.3 | 3.0 | 5.8 | 7.3 | 6.6 | 6.8 | 5.5 | 5.8 | 4.9 | 5.4 | 5.8 | 6.2 | **68.4** |
| 48th | Swaziland | 8.5 | 4.9 | 3.7 | 6.9 | 8.1 | 9.3 | 8.5 | 7.5 | 8.5 | 6.0 | 6.8 | 7.6 | **86.3** |
| 177th | Sweden | 2.5 | 2.3 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 2.3 | 1.0 | 1.6 | 1.0 | 2.1 | 1.8 | 1.0 | **20.2** |
| 173rd | Switzerland | 1.9 | 2.1 | 3.6 | 2.1 | 2.7 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 1.4 | 1.0 | 1.3 | **22.3** |
| 9th | Syria | 8.1 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 7.4 | 7.0 | 7.5 | 9.9 | 8.2 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 9.9 | 9.9 | **107.9** |
| 57th | Tajikistan | 7.8 | 4.8 | 7.3 | 6.3 | 5.6 | 7.4 | 9.1 | 5.9 | 7.6 | 6.8 | 8.4 | 6.4 | **83.4** |
| 63rd | Tanzania | 8.8 | 6.4 | 5.7 | 7.0 | 7.0 | 6.7 | 6.0 | 8.7 | 6.0 | 5.5 | 5.7 | 7.3 | **80.8** |
| 71st | Thailand | 6.9 | 6.0 | 8.5 | 4.1 | 5.8 | 4.0 | 8.0 | 4.9 | 7.7 | 8.9 | 10.0 | 4.3 | **79.1** |
| 35th | Timor-Leste | 8.9 | 6.8 | 6.5 | 7.0 | 6.7 | 8.4 | 7.4 | 8.4 | 5.8 | 7.7 | 8.3 | 8.7 | **90.6** |
| 47th | Togo | 8.0 | 7.1 | 4.5 | 7.3 | 8.1 | 6.8 | 8.1 | 8.6 | 7.2 | 7.0 | 7.6 | 6.5 | **86.8** |
| 126th | Trinidad & Tobago | 5.0 | 3.0 | 4.1 | 7.5 | 5.5 | 4.3 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 4.6 | 5.7 | 5.6 | 3.6 | **58.7** |
| 86th | Tunisia | 4.7 | 4.1 | 7.8 | 5.5 | 5.4 | 6.6 | 7.0 | 4.9 | 7.0 | 7.8 | 8.1 | 6.9 | **75.8** |
| 89th | Turkey | 5.5 | 7.5 | 9.0 | 3.7 | 6.2 | 5.0 | 6.3 | 4.9 | 6.4 | 7.7 | 7.3 | 5.0 | **74.5** |
| 78th | Turkmenistan | 5.7 | 3.9 | 7.1 | 5.1 | 6.9 | 5.0 | 9.7 | 6.1 | 8.8 | 6.8 | 7.8 | 4.6 | **77.5** |
| 23rd | Uganda | 8.9 | 8.8 | 8.7 | 7.3 | 7.3 | 7.0 | 8.0 | 8.3 | 7.9 | 7.6 | 8.9 | 8.3 | **97.0** |
| 84th | Ukraine | 4.5 | 4.4 | 7.0 | 5.5 | 4.7 | 6.5 | 8.5 | 3.8 | 6.4 | 7.9 | 8.0 | 9.1 | **76.3** |
| 144th | United Arab Emirates | 4.5 | 2.2 | 3.9 | 2.5 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 6.6 | 2.7 | 7.1 | 3.1 | 3.6 | 2.9 | **46.2** |
| 161st | United Kingdom | 2.6 | 2.4 | 5.6 | 2.1 | 3.7 | 3.9 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 3.5 | 1.2 | **33.4** |
| 158th | United States | 3.0 | 2.1 | 5.0 | 1.5 | 4.8 | 2.8 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 3.7 | 2.8 | 4.0 | 1.1 | **35.3** |
| 155th | Uruguay | 3.5 | 1.9 | 3.0 | 4.4 | 4.2 | 3.2 | 1.4 | 3.4 | 2.2 | 3.7 | 2.7 | 2.9 | **36.5** |
| 52nd | Uzbekistan | 6.1 | 6.0 | 7.6 | 6.3 | 7.0 | 6.8 | 9.6 | 5.4 | 9.1 | 7.6 | 8.8 | 5.1 | **85.4** |
| 74th | Venezuela | 5.1 | 4.8 | 7.3 | 5.2 | 6.7 | 6.5 | 8.6 | 7.2 | 8.3 | 6.5 | 8.1 | 4.3 | **78.6** |
| 97th | Vietnam | 6.1 | 4.7 | 6.5 | 5.6 | 5.5 | 5.8 | 8.1 | 5.2 | 7.8 | 5.1 | 6.9 | 5.1 | **72.4** |
| 7th | Yemen | 9.2 | 9.1 | 9.4 | 7.5 | 8.1 | 9.3 | 9.3 | 8.2 | 9.1 | 10.0 | 9.4 | 9.5 | **108.1** |
| 53rd | Zambia | 9.4 | 6.9 | 5.7 | 7.8 | 8.6 | 7.7 | 7.4 | 7.6 | 6.8 | 5.0 | 5.7 | 6.6 | **85.2** |
| 16th | Zimbabwe | 8.7 | 8.4 | 7.8 | 8.0 | 8.1 | 8.0 | 9.0 | 8.5 | 8.3 | 7.9 | 9.7 | 7.6 | **100.0** |

# The Fund for Peace: Promoting Sustainability Since 1957

The Fund for Peace (FFP) works to prevent conflict and promote sustainable security by building relationships and trust across diverse sectors and by developing innovative technologies and tools. FFP has worked in over 60 countries with a wide range of partners in all sectors: governments, international organizations, the military, non-governmental organizations, academics, journalists, civil society networks, and the private sector. Our projects include supporting grassroots organizations, developing national dialogues, and taking leadership roles in international initiatives.

Our objective is to create practical tools and approaches for conflict mitigation that are useful to those who can help create greater stability. Combining social science techniques with information technology, we have produced the patented Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST), a content analysis software product that provides a conceptual framework and a data gathering technique for measuring conflict risk. Annually, we produce The Fragile States Index, a ranking of 178 countries across 12 indicators that is published by *Foreign Policy* magazine.

We build early warning networks in complex environments to collect data and make this data available publicly for decision and policy makers to develop better informed and better coordinated approaches to peace-building. We advise companies operating in complex environments on how to ensure they operate responsibly, respecting and even promoting human rights and greater stability. Most importantly, in all our work we strive to build capacity among local actors so they can ultimately develop and implement the solutions needed in their local context, because we believe that is key to truly sustainable human security.

Founded in 1957, FFP is an independent, nonpartisan, 501(c)(3) non-profit organization based in Washington, D.C.

## Harnessing Data for Conflict and Risk Assessment at the Fund for Peace

FFP's CAST framework has been used to perform analysis at the national level for many years, with FFP now possessing over a decade of social, economic, and political data and trends for 178 countries. This data can be visualized to demonstrate overall trends as well as allowing "drill-down" analysis on individual indicators. CAST has been used at the national level, but also at a sub-regional level, from providing an assessment following the floods in Pakistan's Sindh province to demonstrating how the situations in Mindanao in the south of the Philippines and Luzon in the north can be significantly different.

Drawing upon the CAST conflict assessment framework, FFP uses content analysis in triangulation with other data sets and methodologies in the generation of conflict assessment reports for a variety of clients. FFP also performs assessments at community and site levels (however a modified methodology is utilized with a proportionally lower input from content analysis and a greater emphasis on information and data from local sources).

Content analysis is a unique tool that uses computer technology (including proprietary algorithms and Boolean search terms) to scan thousands – or even millions – of news reports and track trends in pressures at the national and provincial levels. These reports can be used to evaluate historical context, current or potential risks, as well as progress in stabilization and development activities by understanding key aspects of the social, economic, and political environment, and over time, overall longer-term trends. This in-depth analysis allows for the evaluation of the circumstances behind spikes in trend lines, and for identifying correlations between indicator trends to generate hypotheses about the unique circumstances in the conflict landscape of concern.

For more information regarding FFP's conflict and risk assessment work, contact Nate Haken, Director of Conflict Assessment, Data and Analysis, at nhaken@fundforpeace.org.



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